THE MANKIND QUARTERLY

VOLUME XLII No. 1 Fall 2001

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The Decline and Fall of the Freudian Empire

Hans J. Eysenck
Late of the University of London

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Freudian theory has recently attracted considerable attention as new developments in science and statistical processes have brought the validity of Freud's conclusions into question.

The author, was the world's most frequently cited psychologist, argues that Freudian psychoanalysis is largely imaginative, lacks experimental justification, and is lacking in any claim to scientific authenticity.

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Cover Picture: Skull of giant from a cemetery in Ostrów Lednicki, Poland. [*See article*: Rare Developmental Disorder of the Sound-Conducting System of a Skeleton from an Early Medieval Cemetery in Poland: Endoscopy and CT Findings].

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Rare Developmental Disorder of the Sound-Conducting System of the Skeleton from an Early Medieval Cemetery in Poland: Endoscopy and CT findings

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Anomalies of the sound-conduction system can affect the external auditory canal, the mastoid, the middle ear cavity, the ossicle and the labyrinthine windows. Complete agenesis of the external auditory canal may be caused by an anomaly of the tympanic bone. Embryologically, the definitive external auditory canals begin to form medially at the level of the tympanic membrane. An arrest in this developmental process may leave an atretic plate laterally, which caused a complete external canal atresia. The middle ear may be extremely hypoplastic and the ossicle are present as rudimentary osseus mass (Valvassori, Buckingham 1995). Endoscopic and CT investigation of the skull of the female giant show that she also suffered from the developmental disorders of the left ear.

Key Words: Developmental disorder of ear, Middle Ages, Poland, Endoscopy and CT Findings.

The material comes from an early medieval cemetery in Ostrów Lednicki, Lednogóra dated between the end of the 11th and beginning of the 14th century A.D. The skeleton belonged to a giant woman, who died aged between 25 and 30.

This skeleton was examined three times. In 1977 by Szymczyk et al., who wrote: "The massivity and large diameters of the skull and of the postcranial bones may be explained by hormonal discretion deviation, especially of the pituitary gland. Proof of that, among the other things, are the morphologic changes of sella turcica." It should be stressed that no x-rays were published with this article, nor was any information given that they had been taken.

In *1998* (Gładykowska-Rzeczycka and al.) this skeleton was examined in more detail morphologically, by x-ray and CT. Because of the information from Szymczyk et al. *(1977)* no control of the cranial

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cavern was made.

Our morphological investigation shows, except for the characteristic traces for gigantism and acromegaly (fig 1), stenosed foramen and small fossa, of the left jugular vein and obliterated left porus acusticus externus (fig. 2). X-ray and CT examination showed other than changes caused by gigantism, slightly flattened sella turcica, extensive sclerotisation of the left temporal bone and obliterated external auditory canal, partial ossification of the left lateral part of the occipital bone and sclerotic remodeling of the sphenoid sinuses (fig. 3,4). Radiologic diagnosis was widespread osteoma.

As is well known, classification of osteomas is very differentiated (Steinbock 1976). According to Ortner and Putschar (1981) osteoma belongs to osteoblastic tumors, and is a benign lesion of mostly dense lamellar bone with vascular channels, but practically without marrow spaces. There are three types of osteoma: 1) the so called ivory osteoma, usually located on the outer table of the cranial vault, not more than 2 cm in diameter, 2) a horseshoe-shaped or circular overgrowth of cortical bone on the inner aspect of the bony auditory canal. The maximal thickness does not exceed 5 mm, and 3) a more formidable osteoma most commonly consisting of a tumorous bony proliferation projecting into paranasal sinuses. The lesion begins with fibrosus proliferation made up of fibrous tissue and woven bone trabeculae. As the lesion matures it becomes more solidly bony with lamellar bone predominating.

As the localization of widespread osteoma in temporal bone (pars petrosa) is rather rare we decided to control the cranial cavity by endoscopy. It shows: deposits of hardened soil mainly located in the left part of the cranial cave, sella turcica and in the sphenoid sinuses. After cleaning the next endoscopy showed a relatively small number of the foramina of the lamina cribrosae of the ethmoidal bone, unchanged sella turcica, slightly developed sclerotisation on the posterior wall of the left sphenoid sinus and two-chamber right sphenoid sinus, some little smooth (3 x 4 x 3 mm) tubercles on the clivus near the dorsum sellae and slightly more massive pars petrosa of the left temporal bone (mainly in its posterior part).

CT examination was carried out with the use of a Hi-Speed General Electric Scanner. One millimeter and 3 mm. thick slices were obtained in axial and coronal planes. The images were reconstructed in sagittal and coronal planes. The CT axial image at the level of meatus acusticus externus shows that the left meatus acusticus externus is not developed. At its locality, sclerotic bone is visible and the cavum

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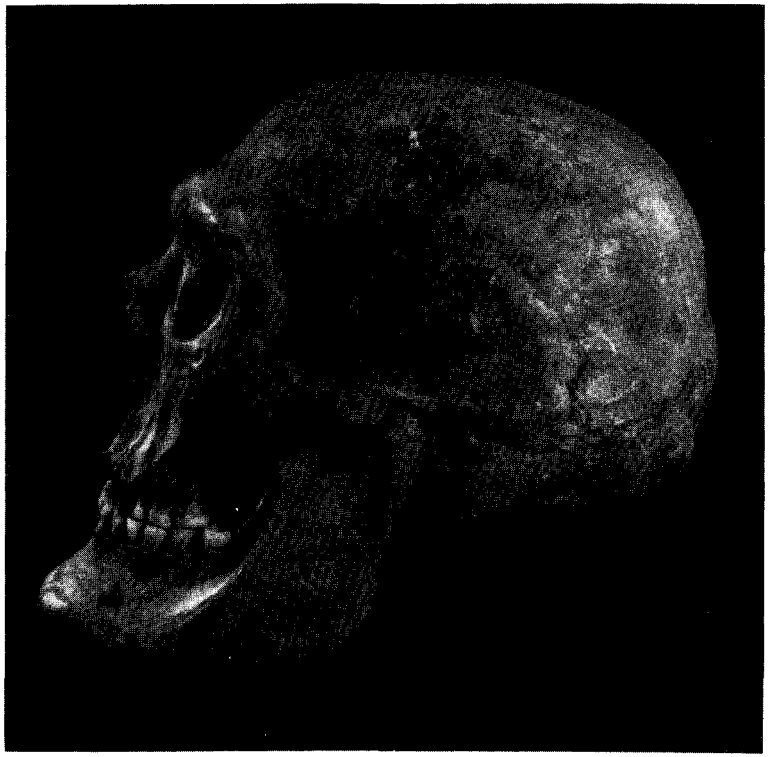

Fig. 1. Skull of giant

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Fig. 2. Skull showing obliterated left porous acusticus

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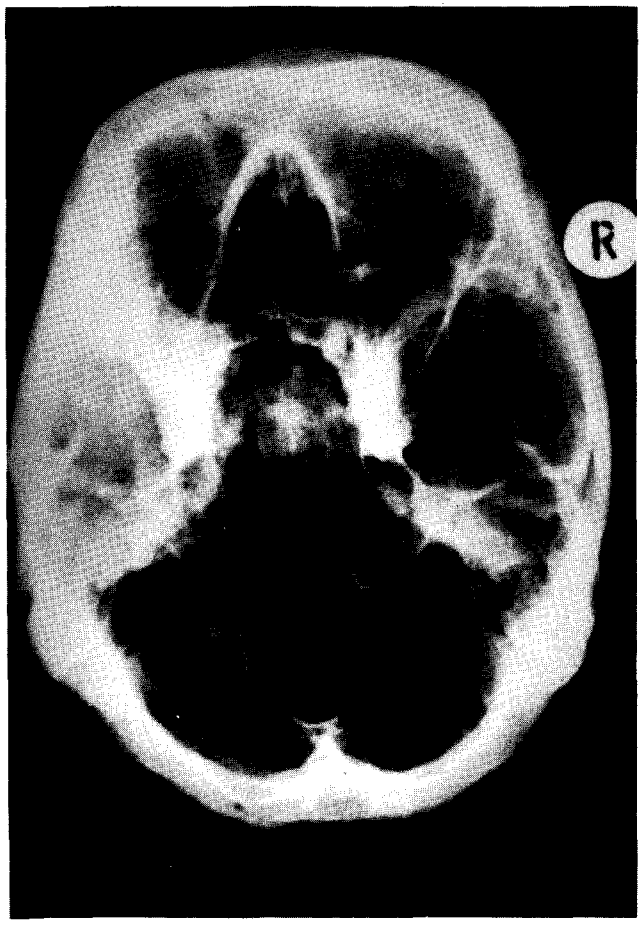

Fig. 3. Skull. Norma basilaris. X-ray extensive sclerotisation of the left temporal bone, partial ossification of the left part of the occipital bone and sclerotic remodeling of the body and sinuses of the sphenoid bone.

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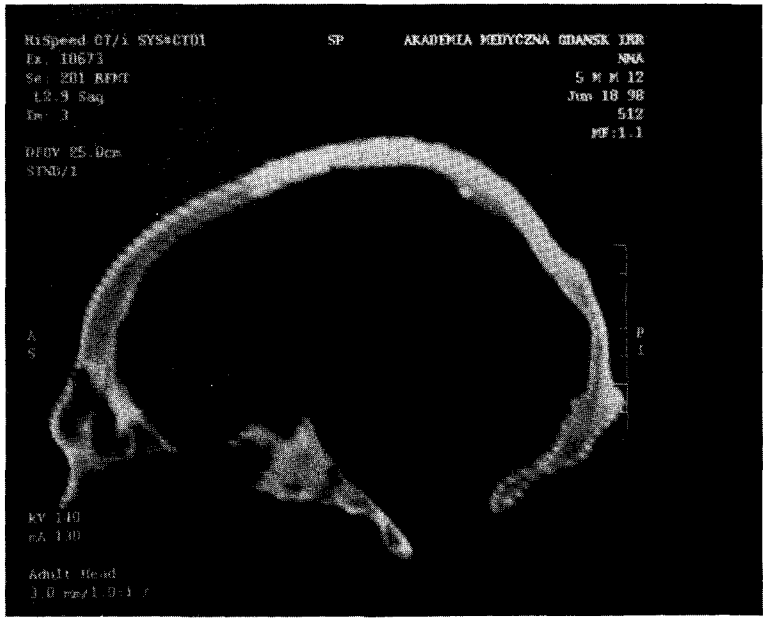

Fig. 4. Sagittal tomogram: sclerotic remodeling of the sphenoid sinus, flattened sella turcica.

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Fig. 5. Left cavum tympani and meatus acusticus externus not developed.

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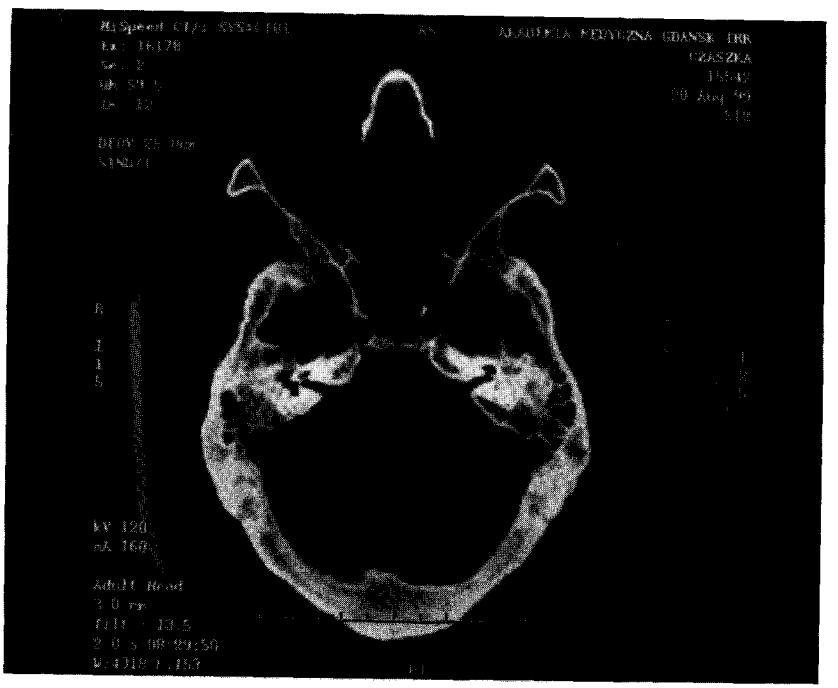

Fig. 6. Structures of internal ear-cochlea and semicircular canals seen at both sides.

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Fig. 7. Sella turcica, dorsum sellae and sphenoid sinuses visible.

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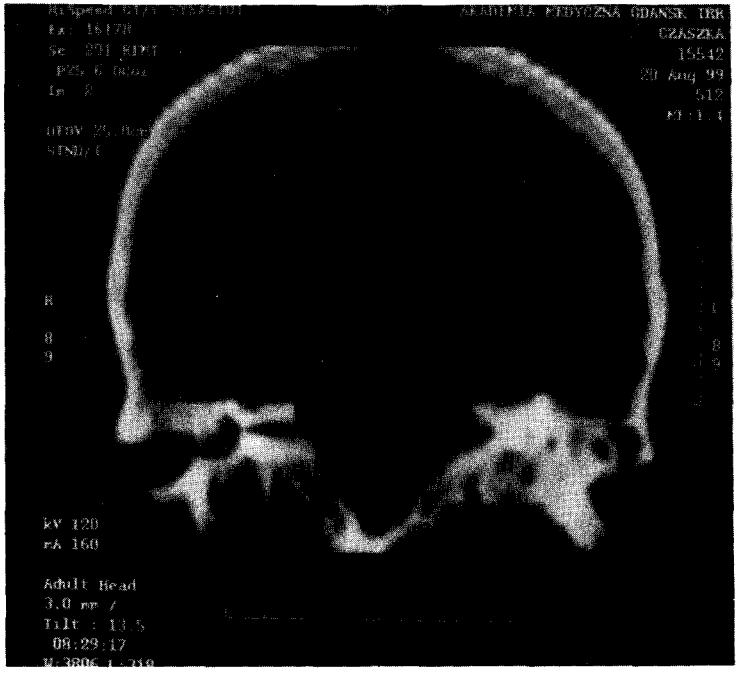

Fig. 8. At the left side there is no meatus acusticus externus and cavern tympani.

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tympani is absent (Fig. 5). CT axial image at the level of canalis acusticus internus shows that the structure of internal ear-cochlea and semicircular canals are visible at both sides (Fig.6). A sagittal CT reconstructed image shows that sella turcica, dorsum sellae and aerated sinus sphenoidales are visible (Fig. 7), and CT coronal reconstructed image shows that on the left side there is no meatus acusticus extertrus and cavern tympani (Fig. 8). The CT diagnosis is partial sclerotisation of the left temporal bone caused rather by developmental disorder not by widespread osteoma.

Developmental disorders of the sound-conducting system are rather rare (Altman 1933, Bereischnikov 1934, Anthony 1957, Hough 1958, Soifer et al. 1970, Janczewski, Gożdzik-Żolnierkiewicz 1990, Boenninghaus 1997, Zalesska-Kręcicka, Kręcicki 1998)

In the paleopathological literature dealing with the auditory system (Hrdlicka 1933, Roche A F. 1964, Gregg 1965, Gregg et al. 1965, 1965b, Gregg et al. 1981, Brotwell 1967, 1968, MacKenzie, Brotwell 1967, Birkby, Gregg 1975, Campillo 1977, Gregg, Reed 1980, Hanakova, Vyhnanek 1981, Manchester 1983, Capasso 1988,1987, Bruintjes 1990, Bruintjes et al. 1997, Pirsing et al, 1991, Aufderheide, Rodriguez-Martin 1998, Roberts, Manchester 1999) there was no description of cases like the one presented here.

Conclusions

1) Integrated examination – morphologic, x-ray, CT and endoscopic – show, in addition to characteristic lesions caused by gigantism and acromegaly changes, also developmental changes caused some disturbances of the olfactory and acoustic organ, possibly hindered blood flow from the cranial cave (stenosed foramen and small fossa of the left jugular vein) and also caused changes in the region served by n. X, XIX and XI, but no widespread osteoma. 2) Much attention must be paid while examining material previously investigated.

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A Study of the Intelligence of Children in Brazil

Maria Fernandez[1]
Sao Paulo, Brazil

An investigation was carried out on the intelligence of 10 year-olds in Brazil, using the Standard Progressive Matrices. It is estimated that the mean IQ in Brazil is 87.8. The mean IQs of the four principal racial and ethnic groups are estimated as whites, 95; "browns", 81; blacks, 71; and Asians, 99. These IQs are calculated in relation to a British mean of 100.

Key Words: Intelligence (IQ), Brazil, Blacks, Whites, Browns (Mestizoes) Asians, race differences

Studies carried out in the United States and numerous other countries throughout the world have typically found a hierarchy of average intelligence levels among racial groups, such that Oriental peoples from Northeast Asia generally obtain average IQs of around 105, European white peoples obtain average IQs of around 100, Africans in sub-Saharan Africa obtain average IQs of around 75, and Afro-Americans in the United States obtain average IQs of around 85 (Lynn, 1991, 1997; Rushton, 2000). Hitherto, no evidence has been published on racial and ethnic IQs in Brazil. The present paper reports the first data on this question.

There are a number of different racial and ethnic groups and admixtures in Brazil. There are whites, who were originally from Portugal and were later largely from Italy; blacks, who were transported as slaves from the 16th to the 18th century to work on the plantations; indigenous Native American Indians, who were very largely wiped out by diseases and through being killed by whites; hybrids, who are largely the product of unions between white male estate owners and black female slaves; and Asians, who are principally from Japan and who emigrated to Brazil towards the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

The Brazilian censuses have recognized four racial and ethnic categories into which the population has been asked to place themselves. These are whites, "browns" (largely black-white hybrids), blacks,

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and Asians (who are very largely of Japanese origin). In the study to be described samples of these four groups have been intelligence tested.

Method

The objective of the study was to obtain IQs measured by the Standard Progressive Matrices for representative samples of children aged 10.0 years of the four recognized racial/ethnic groups in Brazil. The greatest problem was to find sufficient numbers of black and Asian children. To obtain these primary schools in Sao Paolo were selected that contained appreciable numbers of one or other of these two groups and all children in the grades containing 9-10 year-olds were tested. Testing was regarded as completed when approximately 200 blacks and 200 Asian children were obtained.

To obtain samples whose mean ages were all 10.0 years, those with the highest or lowest ages were eliminated until the mean age reached 10.0 and in such a way as there were equal numbers of boys and girls in each sample. The children were group tested in classes and administered without time limits except that the testing session was ended after one hour. Nearly all the children completed the test within 40 minutes. The testing was carried out in the autumn of 2000.

Results

The data are given in Table 1. Column 3 gives the mean score on the Progressive Matrices, followed by the standard deviation, the percentile equivalent on the British norm table for the 1979 British standardization given by Raven (1981), and the IQ equivalent. The final right hand column gives the "adjusted IQ", consisting of an adjustment for the rise of the IQ in Britain of the 21 years between date of the British standardization and the collection of the present data. British IQs on the Progressive Matrices rose by approximately 2 IQ points a decade from the late 1930s to 1979 (Lynn and Hampson, 1986), and so to adjust for this rate of increase 2 IQ points have been deducted from the means of the Brazilian samples. The adjusted IQs in the final column therefore represent the mean IQs in Brazil in relation to a British mean of 100.

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Table 1. Mean scores, percentiles and IQs on the Progressive Matrices of white, brown, black and Asian children in Brazil

Group	Number	Score	Sd	Percentile	IQ	Adj.IQ
White	735	35.5	10.4	42.0	97	95
Brown	718	25.2	7.7	13.4	83	81
Black	223	15.8	4.6	3.6	73	71
Asian	186	38.5	11.2	53.0	101	99

Discussion

The final adjusted IQs show that white Brazilian children have a mean IQ of 95, a little below the mean in Britain but within the range of the IQs of European peoples in the data summarized by Lynn (1991, 1997). The "browns" have a mean IQ of 81. These are largely black-white hybrids, like most blacks in the United States, and their IQ is a little below that of American blacks, which is typically around 85 (Jensen, 1998). The Brazilian blacks' mean IQ of 71 is closely similar to that obtained by blacks in a number of countries in sub-Saharan Africa given in the reviews by Lynn (1991, 1997). Finally, the Asian IQ of 99 is 4 IQ points higher than that of the whites. This is a little lower than the IQs typically obtained by Oriental peoples in the Pacific Rim and in the United States. Possibly the explanation may be that the Japanese immigrants to Brazil came initially as laborers in plantations, particularly in the coffee plantations, and these may have been a little below the average in Japan.

The data presented in Table 1 make it possible to calculate a mean IQ for Brazil as a whole by weighting the IQs of the four racial/ethnic groups by their proportions in the population. In the 1991 census, the population comprised 52 per cent white, 42 per cent brown, 5 per cent black and 1 per cent Asian. Weighting the IQs of the four groups by these percentages gives a mean IQ for the whole country of 87.8.

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Hlude wæran hy: Syncretic Christianity in the Old English Charm *Wið Fœrstice*

John Richardson[1]
Edmonton, Alberta

Missionary Christianity absorbed many pre-Christian religious beliefs. Evidence for this syncretic process is found in the Anglo-Saxon charm *Wið Fœrstice*, which co-opted pagan concepts, thereby creating a folk-Christianity which was peculiar to England. Similar syncretic processes took place elsewhere with the spread of Christianity, as in the case of post-Columbian Catholicism in Mexico.

Key Words: Christianity, Anglo-Saxon paganism, Aztec/Mayan mythology, religious syncretism, Holda, Valkyrie, Virgin of Guadalupe.

While there can be little doubt that the Old English Metrical Charm *Wið Fœrstice*[2] is the product of a Christian society, at the root and throughout the poem there are allusions to an old pagan culture. These allusions are not simply "pagan survivals" and the Christian nature of the charm is not simply a matter of "colouring".[3] It is important to always keep before us as a caution E. G. Stanley's *The Search for Anglo-Saxon Paganism*, in which we are reminded "for a long time Old English literature was much read in the hope of discovering in it a lost world of pre-Christian antiquity, for the reconstruction of which the Old English writings themselves do not provide sufficient fragments." At another point in his study, however, while discussing the use of "Lord" in Wið Fœrstice he acknowledges the possibility of Christian interpolation, and so, pagan core, in the charm: "in the context of the Charm, however, there is perhaps greater justification for

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Perhaps the most convenient edition of Wið Fœrstice is that in Sweet's Anglo-Saxon eader, 15th edition, revised by Dorothy Whitelock (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975, pp. 100-101 and 261). Whitelock places the manuscript, Harley 585, as of early eleventh century provenance. The more or less standard edition is that of Gotfried Storms, in Anglo-SaxonMagic (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1948), pp. 140-151. Storms places the manuscript in the middle of the eleventh century (p. 17).

See, for example, F. A. Blackburn, "The Christian Coloring of Beowulf," Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, XII (1897), 205-225.

4 The Search for Anglo-Saxon Paganism (Cambridge: Brewer, 1975), p. viii. See original MS. passage notated for "Conclusion?" in red ink.

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this view".[5]

But *Wið Fœrstice* is thoroughly Christian because everything with a "pagan past"[6] has been co-opted in the world of the charm by its Christianity. Like folk-Christianities throughout the world, Anglo-Saxon Christianity was a syncretism of the old religion and the new, producing a newer Christianity, "a Christianity peculiar to England"[7] and "a syncretic Germanic Christianity."[8] Some examples of similar syncretic artifacts are Saint Demetria who was once the Goddess Demeter[9] and the distinctive Catholicism of Meso-America, which consists of large measures of Aztec, Maya, and other aboriginal religions along with the elements brought from Spain (these latter elements themselves influenced by the Islam of the Moorish period of Iberian history). Octavio Paz summarizes and analyzes one aspect of Mexican Catholicism as follows:

> It is no secret to anyone that Mexican Catholicism is centered about the cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe. In the first place, she is an Indian Virgin; in the second place, the scene of her appearance to the Indian Juan Diego was a hill that formerly contained a sanctuary dedicated to Tonantzin, "Our Mother," the Aztec goddess of fertility. We know that the Conquest coincided with the apogee of the cult of two masculine divinities; Quetzalcoatl, the self-sacrificing god, and Huitzilopochtli, the young warrior-god. The defeat of these gods – which is what the Conquest meant to the Indian world, because it was the end of a cosmic cycle and the inauguration of a new divine kingdom – caused the faithful to return to the ancient feminine deities. This phenomenon of a return to the maternal womb, so well known to the psychologist, is without doubt one of the determining causes of the swift popularity of the cult of the Virgin. The Indian goddesses were goddesses of fecundity, linked to the cosmic rhythms, the vegetative processes and agrarian rites. The Catholic Virgin is also the Mother (some Indian pilgrims still call her Guadalupe-Tonantzin), but her principal attribute is not to watch over the fertility of the earth but to provide refuge for the

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[5] The Search for Anglo-Saxon Paganism, p 58.

[6] Karen Louise Jolly, *Popular Religion in Late Saxon England: Elf Charms in Context*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), p 93.

[7] Jolly, *Popular Religion*, p 40.

[8] Jolly, *Popular Religion*, p 15.

[9] See Mercia Eliade, *A History of Religious Ideas*, Vol II (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), pp. 414-416.

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> unfortunate. The situation has changed: the worshipers do not try to make sure of their harvests but to find a mother's lap. The virgin is the consolation of the poor, the shield of the weak, the help of the oppressed. In sum, she is the Mother of orphans. All men are born disinherited and their true condition is orphanhood, but this is particularly true among the Indians and the poor in Mexico. The cult of the Virgin reflects not only the general condition of man but also a concrete historical situation, in both the spiritual and material realms. In addition, the Virgin – the universal Mother – is also the intermediary, the messenger, between disinherited man and the unknown, inscrutable power: the Strange.[10]

In the Anglo-Saxon tradition, in the clearly Christian work known as the *Prose Solomon and Saturn*, when the question is asked "Saga me wha œrest bocstafas sette." [tell me who first used writing] the answer is: "Ic þe secge, Mercurius se gygand."[I tell you it was Mercury the giant.][11] In their commentary Cross and Hill make clear that Hermes Trismegistus is meant.[12] Is this simply a Pagan survival? No, it is something much more complex, and, in any final analysis, it is syncretic Christianity. I will return briefly to Mexican Catholicism later, but I must emphasize the importance and the validity of an analogy between Anglo-Saxon Catholicism of the ninth to tenth century and the Catholicism of Mexico in the twentieth: in Anglo-Saxon Christianity we see, at a distance, a once pagan culture five hundred years after its conversion to Christianity; in Mexico we are able to examine a living culture standing at the same remove from its conversion. Granted, the details of the conversions and of the underlying paganisms differ greatly, but the larger patterns of syncretism are parallel. In both cases pagan figures have put on Christian robes.

Metaphorically, *Wið Fœrstice* is an instantiation of Gregory the Great's injunction to place churches in pagan places of worship. Gregory's advice, to be delivered through Abbot Mellitus was this:

> ... dicite ei, quid diu mecum de causa Anglorum cogitans tractaui; uidelicet, quia fana idolorum destrui in cadem gente minime debeant; sed ipsa, quae in eis sunt, idola destruantur; aqua benedicta

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[10] Octavio Paz, *The Labyrinth of Solitude and Other Writings*, trans Lysander Kemp, Yara Milos, and Rachel Phillips Belash (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1985), pp. 84-85.

[11] James E Cross and Thomas D. Hill, eds. *The Prose Solomon and Saturn and Adrian and Ritheus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), p. 34.

[12] Cross and Hill, pp 122-23

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fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construantur, reliquiae ponantur. Quia, si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est, ut a cultu daemonum in obsequio ueri Dei debeant commutari; ut dum gens ipsa eadem fana sua non uidet destrui, de corde errorem deponat, et Deum uerum cognoscens ac adorans, ad loca, quae consueuit, familiarius concurrat. Et quia boues solent in sacrificio daemonum multos occidere, debet eis etiam hac de re aliqua sollemnitas immutari; ut die dedicationis, uel natalicii sanctorum martyrum, quorum illic reliquiae ponuntur, tabernacula sibi circa easdem ecclesias, quae ex fanis commutatae sunt, de ramis arborum faciant, et religiosis conuiuiis sollemnitatem celebrent; nec diabolo iam animalia immolent, et ad laudem Dei in esu suo animalia occidant, et donatori omnium de satietate sua gratias referant ....[13]

[We wish you to tell him that concerns of the English have long occupied my thoughts; clearly, the sanctuaries of the idols among that people must by no means be destroyed; but the idols which are in them must be destroyed; have holy water sprinkled in the sanctuaries, altars constructed, and place relics there. For, if the sanctuaries are well built, it is necessary that the demonic worship be replaced by obedience to the true God; thus we hope that the people, seeing their sanctuaries are not destroyed, may put aside their error, and know and adore the true god, flocking readily to that familiar place. And if they are used to killing in sacrifice to demons many cattle, give them instead another solemnity; a day of Dedication or a festival of the sainted Martyrs whose relics are deposited there; they might build themselves tabernacles out of tree boughs around the church which has been made out of the sanctuary, and celebrate the solemnity with religious feasting; no more may they sacrifice animals to the devil and to God they can give praise in the killing of their animals as food, and give thanks to the giver of all for the plenty they enjoy.]

This is a prescription for syncretism if there ever was one. The relics clearly, smoothly, and easily replace the idols. The old gods are to be dressed in the robes of the saints.

Wið Fœrstice, parallel to the pagan sanctuaries, is a web of closely connected pagan images over which control is gained by the Christian

[13] Bede, *Historiam Ecclesiasticam Gentis Anglorum, Historiam Abbatum, et al.* Ed. Charles Plummer, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956) p. 65.

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God and His agent, the user of the charm. As Karen Louise Jolly remarks of this type of literature in general: "the charms, far from being examples of the remnants of paganism, are evidence of the integration of popular material into a Christian view of the world."[14] Nils Thun has written that a belief in elves, such as those in *Wið Fœrstice* "means the incorporation of pre-Christian elements into the Christian world picture."[15] Ælfric even called for syncretism in his homilies:

> Se wisa Augustinus cwœð, þœt unpleolic sy þeah hwá lœce-wyrte ðicge; ac þœt hé tœlð to unalyfedlicere wíglunge, gif hwá ða wyrta on him becnitte, buton he hí to ðam dole gelecge. Þeah-hwœðere ne sceole we urne hiht on lœcwyrtum besettan, ac on ćonne Ælmihtigan Scyppend, þe ðam wyrtum ðone crœft forgeaf. Ne sceal nan man mid galdre wyrte besingan, ac mid Godes wordum hí gebletsian, and swa ðicgan.[16]
>
> [The wise Augustine said that it is not dangerous if one eats a medicinal herb; but he condems it as an illegal charm if anyone ties herbs on himself, unless he lays them on a sore. Nevertheless, we should not set our faith on medicinal herbs but on the Almighty Creator who has given the craft to those herbs. Nor shall anyone enchant a herb with a charm, but with God's word he shall bless it and so eat it.]

Mircea Eliade also emphasizes the syncretizing process which has produced modern Christianity:

> .... it is necessary to point out now the role of what we have called the "universalization" of the Christian message through the instrumentality of mythological imagery and through a continual process of assimilation of the pre-Christian religious heritage.[17]

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[14] Karen Louise Jolly, "Anglo-Saxon Charms in the Context of a Christian World View," *Journal of Medieval History* 11 (1985) 279

[15] "The Malignant Elves: Notes on Anglo-Saxon Magic and Germanic Myth," *Studia Neophilologica* 41 (1969), p 380.

[16] Benjamin Thorpe, ed, *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church. The first part, containing the Sermons Catholici or Homilies of Aelfric*, (London: The Aelfric Society, 1844-46), p. 476.

[17] Eliade, *History*, Vol. II, p. 403.

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And of Europe in particular Eliade comments:

> As we have remarked at several points, the Christianization of the peoples of Europe did not succeed in effacing their different ethnic traditions. The conversion to Christianity has given place to symbioses and religious syncretisms which, many times over, provide brilliant illustration of the relativity specific to "popular," agrarian, or pastoral cultures.[18]

Eliade also emphasizes that "Pagan survivals" become elements of Christianity:

> .... following their conversion, even when it was superficial, the numerous ethnic religious traditions, as well as the local mythologies, were homologized: that is, they were integrated into the same "sacred history" and expressed in the same language, as that of the Christian faith and Christian mythology .... In sum, the innumerable forms and variants of the pagan heritage have been articulated in the same outwardly Christianized mythico-ritual corpus.[19]

In the light of a syncretic understanding of Christianity, the elements of *Wið Fœrstice* become more coherent than in most preceding attempts to understand the poem. The apparently pagan elements which so attracted the Germanic philologists of a century ago[20] are, to be sure, survivals of paganism, but they are converted survivals living on in a Christian world. Thun remarks of *Wið Fœrstice*:

> The end of the charm strikes a Christian note: "helpe ðin drihten". But this addition does not alter the pagan character of the incantation. Not only does it contain the only instance of **æsir* (esa gescotes) in the whole of Old English literature. Equally momentous is the combination of œsir and elves, the two tribes so

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[18] Eliade, History of Religious Ideas, Vol. III (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), p. 221.

[19] Eliade, History, Vol. III, p. 221.

[20] Stanley, The Search for Anglo-Saxon Paganism presents a lively survey history of Anglo-Saxon scholarship and the influence of German Romantic nationalism. This was still very much alive at the end of World War II when G. Storms published his edition of Anglo-Saxon Magic (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1948). In that volume, Storms is quite eager to disparage anything Christian and construct elaborate pagan rituals behind the charms. There is no acknowledgment of the type of syncretism which is the hallmark of Christian conversion everywhere.

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> closely associated in Eddic poetry. However, heathenism here meets us in a degraded form: œsir and elves are evil creatures.[21]

The figures to be discussed here, the riders and their leader and the smiths and their leader, are certainly standing in opposition to the patient and the worker of the charm, but they stand in a Christian world. It is not even completely clear that they stand opposed to the Christian God until the worker of the charm invokes the power of God against them.

The poem opens with the emphatic repetition of the adjective *hlude* 'loud' followed by a description of a single-minded host riding over a burial mound. Chickering, summarizing some criticism, comments:

> The first allusion, lines 3-4, is to the Wild Hunt of Woden, say Grendon and Ryan; Skemp, however, calls these loud riders "wind-demons." Although they are grammatically sexless, most commentators go on to connect this "they" (*hy*) with the mighty women of lines 7-9.[22]

Since there is no grammatical evidence of gender for the riders, we must turn to the structure of the poem for clues. An immediate parallel is set up by the placement of the "refrain", or "burden", as Storms calls it[23]:

> Hlude wœran hy, la, hlude, ða hy ofer þone hlœw ridan,
> wœran an mode, ða hy ofer land ridan
> scyld ðu ðe nu; þú ðysne nið genesan mote
>
> ut, lytel spere, gif her inne sie
>
> stod under linde, under leohtum scylde,
> þær ða mihtigan wif hyra mægen beræddon
> and hy gyllende garas scendan;
> ic him oðerne eft wille sændan,
> fleogende flane forane togeanes.

[Hlude were they, la, Hlude, when they rode over the barrow

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[21] Thun, "Malignant Elves," p 383.
[22] Howell D. Chickering, "The Literary Magic of 'Wið Fœrstice'," Viator2 (1971), p. 97.
[23] G Storms, Anglo-Saxon Magic, p. 143.

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They were of one mind, when they rode over the land.
Shield yourself now; you might survive this attack.

Out little spear, if you be herein.

I stood under the linden, under a light shield
when the mighty women displayed their strength
and they yelling spears sent:
I will send again to them another
a flying dart from the front against them.]

The balance of the "stanzas" is further emphasized by the echo of the first stanza's repeated *ridan* "to ride" by the second stanza's *berœddon* "betrayed, displayed". Furthermore, the phrase *hyra mægen berœddon* "they betrayed their strength", is a potential pun on *hyra magan beridon* "they rode round their kin." But the immediate sense of parallel in structure and verbal echo has not convinced all critics that the "mighty women" are the same as the riders.

Perhaps the most seductive argument that the riders are male is that of Stanley R. Hauer[24] who attempts to draw the two parts of the poem together through a system of tripartite repetition. In his view, the riders of the first part are the twice mentioned *esas* of the second part; the *mihtigan wif* of the first part are the twice named *hœgtessan* of the second part: and the twice named smiths of the first part are parallel to the twice named *ylfa* of the second part. Hauer concludes that the riders are very much like the Furious Host of Oðinn and therefore are male, remarking cautiously:

> The most we can insist upon here is a striking similarity between the two bodies which suggests at least the awareness of a common notion. Furthermore it is altogether fitting that the *œsir* should be employed by a Christian poet as disease-bringing evil spirits, for many of the Germanic gods and mythological beings were transformed by zealous Christian missionaries into demons, devils, and other workers of mischief.[25]

Hauer suggests that the mighty women "correspond in some

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[24] Stanley R Hauer, "Structure and Unity in the Old English Charm *Wið Foerstice*," *English Language Notes* 15 (1978), pp. 250-57.

[25] Hauer, p. 253.

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respects to the valkyries"[26] and that the word *hægtesse* "was similarly associated with the furies"[27] and so another connection is made. But he nowhere demonstrates or suggests that the valkyries were ever directly described as *hægtessan*, although the analogy can be readily strengthened. When he comes to the smiths and the elves, Hauer presents a quite long summary of old beliefs and associations surrounding smithcraft in general and Germanic Mythical smithcraft in particular. He then quickly presents his connection of the one smith and the six smiths with the elves of the second half. He does not mention that the solitary smith is separated from the women before and the smiths after by the same refrain which is the principal structural element of the first part of the poem. He indicates that there is something special about the single smith, but that uniqueness is that the single smith is working against the others for the benefit of the patient and practitioner.[28] This distinction rests solely on the fact that the poetic smith has a *lytle seax*, and the prose practitioner plunges a *seax* into the butter at the end of the charm. Hauer argues that the knives are one and the same.

A number of critics have suggested a greater distinction for the single smith than any offered by his *lytel seax*. Storms concludes "There is only one smith in Germanic mythology gifted with preternatural powers, namely Weyland, and it is a safe guess that he is meant here."[29] Storms goes on to remark on the mystery of the identity of the six smiths. Thun suggests that "There may be some connection between the skilful smiths in [Vedic] myths and the smiths in *Wið Fœrstice*."[30] Storms makes reference to the Poetic Edda: "*The Vllundrkviða* mentions three, Volundr, Slagfiðr and Egil. The number six may have been caused by the alliteration: *syx smiðas sœtan*."[31] But Storms has misunderstood the *Vllundrkviða*: in the passage he refers to, there are six figures, the three smith brothers, and the three shape shifting, spinning, Valkyrie women:

> Brœðr vóro þrír, synir Finnakonungs. Hét einn Slagfiðr, annar Egill, þriði Vlundr. Þeir skriðo oc veiddo dýr. Þeir qvómo í Úlfdali oc gerðo sér þar hús. Þar er vatn, er heitir Úlfsiár. Snemma of morgin

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[26] Hauer, p. 253.
[27] Hauer, p. 253.
[28] Hauer, p 256.
[29] Storms, p. 146
[30] Thun "Malignant Elves", p 393.
[31] Storms, p. 146.

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> fundo þeir á vazstrndo konor þriár, oc spunnu lín. Þar vóro hiá þeim álptarhamir þeira. Þat vóro valkyrior. Þar vóro tvðr dœtr Hloðvés konungs, Hlaðguðr svanhvít oc Hervor alvitr; in þriðia var Irún, Kiárs dóttir af Vallandi. Þeir hfoðo þœr heim til skála með sér. Fécc Egill Irúnar, enn Slagfiðr Svanhvítar, en Vlundr Alvitrar. Þau bioggo siau vetr.[32]
>
> [The sons of the Finnish king were three brothers. One was named Slagfiðr, another Egill, and the third Volundr. They snow-shoed and hunted beasts. They came to Ulfdali and built a house. There was a lake called Ulfsjar. Early one morning they found at the water's edge three women spinning flax. There were beside them three swan-skins. They were Valkyries. There were two daughters of the king of the Hllðvés, Hlaðguður Swan-white and Hervvor All-wise; and the third was Irúnar daughter of Kiár of Vallandi. They took them home to their hall with them. Egill took Irúnar, and Slagfiðr took Swan-white, and Volundr took All-wise. They lived like this for seven years.]

In fact, these women and men are a group of six smiths in Germanic mythology, and it is to them that reference is made in this charm. The three valkyries link the second stanza to the *mihtigan wif* of the first. It is interesting to note that two of the valkyries, Hlaðguð and Hervr, daughters of Hoður have names alliterating with Holda/Hludena, a further source of resonance in the first line. The loosely associated figures of the mighty women and the smiths are more firmly linked than the modern reader would first imagine. In fact, they are fundamentally of the same nature, as reference to a parallel Greek tradition makes clear: a fragment by Sophocles reads:

> Be on your way, all people who work with your hands, you entreat Zeus' daughter, Ergane of the terrible eyes, with baskets placed before her, and by the anvil with heavy hammer ...[33]

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[32] *Edda: Die Lieder Des Codex Regius*, ed Hans Kuhn, (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1962), p. 116. All references to the *Edda* are to this edition.

[33] Sophocles, *Fragments*, edited and translated by Hugh Lloyd-Jones, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1996) pp. 370 and 371. Hugh Lloyd-Jones notes "Ergane was the cult title borne by Athena as the patroness of manual workers"(p. 371). Clearly the goddess of spinning was connected to the smithy. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edition, ed. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) describes the sanctuary of Hephaestus in Athens where "stood a group of Hephaestus

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In the Irish *Breastplate of St. Patrick*, protection is sought "fri brichta] ban *ocus* goband *ocus* druád." [against the spells of women and smiths and druids].[34] Ludwig Bieler has argues that the attribution to St. Patrick and so, the early date (sixth century) is possibly accurate.[35] Whitley Stokes suggests that this line and others in the *Breastplate* "obviously point to a time before Christianity hasd been fully established in Ireland."[36] Obviously, the link between women and smiths goes beyond a single national tradition. In the *fœrstice* charm, the elf-smiths and the spinning women together are producing the attack on the patient.

If the single smith is Weland, the leader of the smiths, parallelism requires that the hags, the mighty women, have a leader as well. The leader of the women is not names outright, but she is alluded to. The repeated word *hlude* in line 1 is not simply the adjective "loud" repeated for emphasis or the exigencies of metre. There is nothing unusual about an adjective in the stressed position in Old English Verse. the stressed repetition, however, emphasizes the volume of the riders much more than seems necessary for the superficial point of the passage: to describe the riders. What can be so important about the fact that the riders are loud? Nothing in the charm leads us to understand that the sound itself is of any great importance. It is as though the poet where telling us "they were loud. Loud! Get it? They were Loud!" And we are left to scratch our heads wondering what his point is. *Hlude* is emphasized by repetition beca se it is an echo of or reference to the name of the old Germanic Goddess *Hludena* or *Holda*, who is also perhaps *Hlóðyn*, Thor's mother. Grimm long ago argued that there is an essential unity in the Teutonic goddesses:

> They are thought of chiefly as *divine mothers who travel round and visit houses*, from whom the human race learns the occupations and arts of house keeping and husbandry: *spinning, weaving, tending the hearth, sowing and reaping.*"[37]

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and Athena Hephaestia" (p. 682).

[34] Whitley Stokes, ed and trans., *The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, Vol. I. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1887), p. 50.

[35] Ludwig Bieler, ed, *The Works of St. Patrick*, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1953), p. 67.

[36] *The Tripartite Life of St Patrick*, Vol. I. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1887), p. ci.

[37] Jacob Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, tr James Steven Stallybrass (London 1880-84). vol. I, p. 250.

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Grimm specifically links Holda, Perahta, and Berchte ("the same under another name")[38] and Hloðyn and Hludena.[39] Although he does not explicitly, by name, argue for the identity of all five goddesses, he does describe virtually identical characteristics and the phonological similarity between the names Holda, Hloðyn, and Hludena is suggestive. As well, it is not a ridiculous stretch to imagine the transition from Holda or Hulde to Hlude, perhaps simply by analogy to the adjective hlude which is descriptive of the lady and her followers.[40] The earliest reference to Holda of which I am aware is that cited by Grimm from Walahfrid Strabo's eulogy to Empress Judith, wife of Louis the Pious:

> Organa dulcisono percussit pectine Judith;
> O si Sappho loquax vel nos inviseret Holda. . . [41]
>
> [With a plectrum Judith plucks the instrument most sweetly;
> Oh, if chattering Sappho or Holda could have seen us . . .]

Since Walahfrid died in 824, we know that the awareness of Holda current in Grimm's time was already current, in Swabia at least, well before the time of *Wið Fœrstice*. The juxtaposition of Holda and Sappho also makes it clear how simple it is for once Pagan figures to live on in Christianity. Grimm also suggests that there is evidence of Holda worship even back to the time of Tacitus:

> Can the name under which the Suevi worshipped that goddess whom the Romans identified with Isis — may not at least one of her secondary names — have been *Holda*? The name has a purely Teutonic meaning, and is firmly grounded in the living traditions of our people to this day.[42]

This is, of course, little more than speculation, and, as Stanley reminds us: "Grimm and his followers were often led to pagan deities by fanciful etymologies."[43] But the potential for this speculation points to the long life of traditions even through cultural upheavals. As Thun points

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[38] Grimm, vol I, p. 272.
[39] Grimm, vol I, pp. 256-7.
[40] An analogy of just this sort is posited by Grimm as an explanation of the Icelandic *huldufolk* Grimm, Vol. I, pp. 271-2.
[41] Grimm, vol IV, p. 1367.
[42] Grimm, vol I, pp. 265-6.
[43] Stanley, *Search for Anglo-Saxon Paganism*, p 83.

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out, "The gap between Germanic antiquity and our own time is not so wide as we often think."[44]

Other scholars also associate this goddess with roving bands of riding women, with spinning, with childbirth and with the underworld.[45] Katherine Morris writes:

> Holda could be seen as a chthonic diety of the underworld, or a more benevolent creature associated with the brightness of day. As with many witch figures, Holda's characteristics are dualistic: she can be terrifying or comforting. The word Holda is related to OHG *holdo* or "spirit." In Middle High German this word still had a positive connotation: MHG *die Guoten holden* were the "gentle spirits of the house." The term *hold* got its negative connotations in the use of *Unhold* by the church. Holda has also been interpreted as a word related to *Hludana* a West Germanic chthonic deity, whose name is related to ON *Hló_yn* or Thor's mother. Such an etymology emphasizes Holda's relationship to the underworld.[46]

This figure's underworld associations explain the reference in *Wið Fœrstice* to the *hlœw*, "burial mound" and her wild band of riders is the group of loud riders in the charm. As well, *hlude* may be a pun on the *huldufolk* of late Icelandic tradition, the hidden people of the hills, the elves who are also a part of *Wið Fœrstice*. Grimm argues that the name Huldufolk is etymologically descended from the same roots as Holda and that it only latterly and by a confusion of sounds – what might be called a pun – came to have the meaning "hidden folk." Grimm suggests that Icelandic Huldufolk was imported from Danish or Norwegian, where are traditions of Huldrefolk who follow Huldre, and that it comes from ON *Hollr*, (fid es, fidelis, propitias), reather than from ON *Hulda* (obscuritas) linking the Huldufolk to old Dame Holda.[47]

There is a traditional Icelandic story involving Queen Hild of Elfland which is particularly relevant to our discussion. The story

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[44] Thun, "Malignant Elves," p 395.

[45] These elements are expanded upon by the following critics: Roving bands, Lotte Motz, "The Winter Goddess: Percht, Holda, and Related Figures," *Folklore* 95:ii (1984); p 153, spinning, Motz p. 154; childbirth, Motz p. 155; underworld, Katherine Morris, "The 'Lascivious' Witch," *Mankind Quarterly*, 26 (1986), p. 296.

[46] Morris, "The 'Lascivious' Witch," p 296.

[47] Grimm, Stallybrass, Vol I, p. 271-2.

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collected by Jón Árnason[48] and titled by him *Hildur Alfadrottning* (Hild Queen of the Elves) involves a wild nocturnal ride, an underworld journey (down a volcanic cleft to Elfland), elves, a divine woman with a *Hld* name who is talented at household tasks. This story links together elf-smiths and a mighty woman who is their queen and is associated with a furious ride. Although it can be little else than speculation, one cannot help but suspect that Hildur of the Icelandic story is somehow the same figure as Dame Holde of the Grimm fairy tale and also the old goddess Holde/Hludena.

A hint that the two knives of the charm, the one forged by the smith, the other wielded by the healer, may well be the same implements, and a reason that the healer might try to wield Holda's blade (in tradition often a plowshare),[49] which was forged by the single smith, comes from a tradition related by Grimm. Grimm writes:

> In the mountain district about Trauenstein (Up. Bavaria, opposite Salzburg) they tell the children on the eve of Epiphany, that if they are naughty, *Berche* will come and cut their bellies open. *Greasy cakes* are baked that day, and the workmen say you must grease your stomach well with them, so that *dame Berche's knife* may glance off. (italics Grimm's)[50]

Is the blade plunged in boiling herbed butter in order to grease it so that it might glance off the patient when the *mihtig wif* strikes at him?

Lotte Motz summarizes the attributes of what she calls "The Winter Goddess" as follows:

> The folk-legends, folk-customs and historical documents thus combine to render a vivid image of a virgin deity of the woodland, of dual aspect, concerned with the education of the young, especially of girls in the supervision of their spinning, who receives offerings of food and is associated in legend and rite with ecstatic motion and with terrifying sound, and whose festival is clearly placed within the winter season.[51]

Cambridge MS. CCCC 190 demonstrates that the rites of this winter

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[48] Jón Árnason, *Íslenzkar Þjó_sögur og Ævintri* (Reykjavik: Bókautgáfan Þjóðsaga, 1958-1961), vol I, pp. 105-109.

[49] Grimm, Stallybrass, p 274, *et passim*.

[50] Grimm p 277.

[51] Motz, "Winter Goddess," p. 157.

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goddess are also clearly in evidence in Anglo-Saxon England:

> Si quis in kalendas Januarii in cervulo aut vetula vadit, id est, in ferarum habitus se communicant, et vestiuntur pellibus pecudum, et assumunt capita bestiarum; qui vero taliter in ferinas species se transformant, III. Annos pœniteant; quia hoc dœmoniacum est.[52]
>
> If any one on the Kalends of January walks as a stag or as a little old woman (*in cervulo aut vetula vadit*), that is to say, if they change themselves into the likeness of wild animals, or clothe themselves in the skins of cattle and wear the heads of beasts, those who in fact transform themselves in such wise into kinds of wild animals, shall do penance for three years: for this is devilish.(Bonser's translation)[53]

This passage clearly places the furious host of someone such as Holde on England's mountains fair in the eleventh century. Clearly someone in Anglo-Saxon England believed that she walked there.

The loud, ecstatic motion is clearly evident in the opening of *Wið Fœrstice*. That the attack in *Wið Fœrstice* comes from the wilderness is underscored by the choice of herbs in the prose opening of the charm: Feverfew, Nettle, and Plantain. The first two are quite distinctly herbs of built up areas, and the last is so ubiquitous and useful as to seem domesticated. Of Nettle, Gerard comments "The second is more common, and groweth of itself neer unto hedges, bushes, brambles, and old walls, almost everywhere."[54]The reference to old walls is suggestive of one understanding of the description in the charm: "that grows through the wall."[55] Of Feverfew Gerard writes "The common single Feverfew groweth in hedges, gardens and about old walls, it ioyeth to grow among rubbish."[56] Again, a companion of humans. Of Plantain Gerard writes "The greater plantaines do grow

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[52] Benjamin Thorpe, ed, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, Vol. 2. (London: the Commissioners on the Public Records of the Kingdom, 1840), p. 34.

[53] Wilfrid Bonser, *The Medical Background of Anglo-Saxon England*, (London: The Wellcome Historical Medical Library, 1963), p.141.

[54] John Gerard, *The Herbal: Or General History of Plants*, (1663, rpt Dover: New York, 1975), p. 707.

[55] Grimm translates "that grows through a fence" (Vol IV, p. 1244). Storms translates "that grows through a fence" (Vol. IV. p. 1244).

[56] Gerard p 652.

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almost everywhere."[57] I have myself seen stretches of plantain growing in ways suggestive of another of its names, Waybread or Waybroad, as a sort of pavement on semi-frequently travelled paths at the edge of lawns of grass: the plant seems to do well on soil compacted by human feet, marking the ways walkers prefer. Furthermore, it is quite edible and nutritious.

Elsewhere Motz elaborates on the makeup of Holda's band: "The legends also observe the presence of mutilated and fur-clad figures, of dwarfs and giants, of artisans carrying their tools."[58] The artisans here merely suggest the possibility of smiths in the retinue; Motz later draws a more clear link between the mighty women and smith craft:

> The association of the Ladies with the craft of spinning, in its turn, points to their initiatory function. It seems that in archaic thought, the labour of producing thread from a shapeless mass of wool or flax created the same awe as the forming of a tool from stone or iron, so that spinning, like smith craft, was imbued with magical properties.[59]

Minna Doskow[60] has come to the conclusion that all of the smiths stand, with the women, in opposition to the patient. In a footnote, Hauer paraphrases her argument:

> The drift of previous scholarship has maintained that the smith and *seax* of line 13 are helpful to the leech and are not among the harmful agents; however, a recent article by Minna Doskow .... argues that dividing the smiths into two groups, one good and one bad, is structurally inconsistent, and that the smiths are all members of one malevolent band. Likewise Doskow sees the host of lines 3-6 and the wives of lines 7-12 as a single group, thus forming altogether but two painful agents: women and smiths. But Doskow overlooks the clearly triplicate nature of the exorcismal formulas of lines 23-26, which clearly indicate three different agents. It is possible, as Doskow argues, that all the smiths are harmful, but the thesis cannot be proven with only the evidence she offers.[61]

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[57] Gerard p 421.

[58] Motz, "Winter Goddess," p. 153.

[59] Motz, "Winter Goddess," pp. 160-161.

[60] Minna Doskow, "Poetic Structure and the Problem of the Smiths in Wið Fœrstice," *Papers on Language and Literature*, 12 (1976), 321-26

[61] Hauer, p.256, n. 17.

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One could well argue that Hauer has overlooked the equally clearly *quadripartite* structure of the first part, which clearly indicates four agents, not three, and the quadripartite structure of the second part, which has the patient "shot" in four body parts.

Doskow has interpreted much correctly, but does not go far enough. As she argues, the riders of the first stanza are elaborated as the mighty women of the second. The single smith of the third stanza is elaborated by the inclusion of his six companions in the fourth.[62] Doskow proceeds no further in this discovery of elaboration, but, in fact, the same principal of statement and elaboration continues in the second section. As Doskow points out, the triplets of the second half consist of a three part naming followed by a three part exorcism.[63] But the critical division into triplets is deceiving. In fact the second part consists of the two triplets framed by an initial reference to *isernes dœl, hœgtessan geweorc* "a bit of iron, the work of a *hœgtesse*" and a closing cryptic reference to the "mountain head." The opening statement firmly links the women and the male smiths of the first half; in fact, a woman *is* a smith at this point, parallel to Motz's suggestion that spinning and smithcraft are in some senses an identity. This apparent synthesis points toward what happens in the triplets; here, despite the co-ordination which could be inferred from *oððe* in the first triplet, the pattern of parallelism from the first part of the charm is repeated: *esa gescot*, that is *ylfa gescot*, that is *hœgtessan gescot*. Bruce Mitchell writes of the meaning of *oððe*:

> .... at the moment we are forced to concede the seemingly unlikely possibility that *oððe* can mean both 'or' — excluding what precedes – and 'and (furthermore)' – with no exclusion of what precedes.[64]

and

> The relationship between the alternatives varies. Sometimes they are mutually exclusive .... Some times we are merely offered two synonyms, near synonyms, or variants ....[65]

The parallelism of the three types of shot becomes explicit in the final

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[62] Doskow, pp 325-6.

[63] Doskow, p 325-26.

[64] Bruce Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, Vol I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 719-720.

[65] *Old English Syntax*, Vol. I, p. 742.

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triplet at which point the remedy is being executed. By the end of the charm it is clear from the structure of the charm that the *esas*, the *ylfa* and the *hœgtessa* – the riders, the smiths, and the mighty women – are creatures of equivalent nature.

The issue of *ylfa* and *esas* going together can be said to be well settled by the Eddic tradition of making an alliterating pair out of them. Richard Cleasby, Gudbrand Vigfusson, and William A. Craigie write "the Elves and Ases are fellow gods".[66] Among almost a dozen references to Elves and Æsir together in the Poetic Edda, are the *Grímnismál*'s

> land er heilact, er ec liggia sé
> ásom oc álfom nœr (p. 58, st. 4)
> (That land is holy which lies there near Æsir and elves.)

and *Volospá*'s

> Hvat er með ásom, hvat er með álfom? (p. 12, st. 48)
> (What's with the Æsir, what's with the Elves?)

Elves and Æsir are likely relatively familiar to most readers of the charms but we must come to a better understanding of the word *hœgtesse* which is often translated by its Modern English descendent "hag" or by "witch." Minna Doskow assumes but does not support an etymological link to the *Æsir* of Norse religion.[67] Katherine Morris draws on the evidence of glosses to show that by the time of Stephen I of Hungary (997-1038) the Old High German form *hagazussa* was glossed with L. *furia* or L. *striga* but not L. *maleficia*[68], in other words, by the year 1000 in official terms, a *hœgtesse* would be associated with the furies, and so, perhaps, with the valkyries, or with *strigae*, women who "rode out at night and fornicated."[69] In "Witch Words,"[70] Morris turns her attention fully onto the complex of which *hœgtesse* is a part. One meaning of the term, she concludes, is a "sorceress whose

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[66] Richard Cleasby, Gudbrand Vigfusson, and William A. Craigie, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), p. 42.

[67] Doskow, p 326.

[68] Katherine Morris, "Lascivious Witch," p. 298.

[69] Morris, "Lascivious Witch," p. 298.

[70] Katherine Morris, "Witch Words: the Origin and Backround of German *Hexe*," *General Linguistics*, Vol 27, no. 2, (1987), pp. 82-95.

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witchcraft controls the sexual functions,"[71] a gloss which might well indicate a *fœrstice* indeed. If such a *hœgtesse* has shot one in the skin, flesh, blood, or limb,[72] then the *fœrstice* must be nothing else than male sexual dysfunction. The knife plunged into boiling butter has most obvious Freudian significance, and the fact that the male smiths seem to have aided the *hœgtesse* can only make the wound more serious as gender betrayal.

Morris offers support for this understanding of the *Fœrstice hœgtesse*:

> The witch must have been important to the society in some way; otherwise she would have disappeared from the culture. In ancient Scandinavia, the last sedentary culture in Europe to convert to Christianity, one sees this dualism toward feminine magic. In the Scandinavian mythology, the practice of low magic or *sei_r* could bring good or ill. Men eschewed this form of magic as it rendered them impotent. The Valkyries of Old Norse literature were also ambivalent; being fierce or benevolent, they honored or destroyed.[73]

But Morris also offers a much more vivid picture of the figure of the *hœgtesse*:

> Tradition and popular imagination have created a malevolent creature: a whore, a cannibal, a night-flyer, a poisoner. The benevolent aspects of the witch: the healer, the prophetess, the giver of life, have all but disappeared. Certainly Christianity influenced the medieval conception of women in general and of sorceresses specifically. The early Middle Ages was a period of transition from paganism to Christianity, and as patterns in the history of religion manifest, the new ideology demonizes the old in order to eradicate it. Thus, priestesses who where revered in the days of Tacitus became witches who where feared in the Middle Ages. But beliefs die hard, and one often sees a curious mixture of Christianity and pagan folk-belief in the medieval *Weltanschauung*.[74]

One might argue that the curiosity to the modern mind of the

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[71] Morris, "Witch words," p. 92.

[72] or the *bone* to include Grimm's suggested addition (*Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III, p. 1245).

[73] Morris, "Witch Words," p. 93.

[74] Morris, "Witch Words," p. 93.

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medieval *Weltanschauung* derives from the mixture of early Catholicism and pagan folk-belief which is Medieval Christianity. Critics who argue that there is a blend of pagan and Christian in Christianities other than contemporary European Christianity forget or ignore the fact that Christianity has absorbed all of the myriad influences and used them to remake itself. Contemporary European Christianity is, in a sense, just modern Medieval Christianity.

In the context of the Germanic ethnographic picture presented by Motz and Morris, and with a little attention to botanical detail, *Wið Fœrstice* moves out of the "Dreamtime" of posited old Germanic shamanic experience into the everyday world-view of the Middle Ages in which bands of women and artisans, including smiths, would rove the land at year's end wreaking havoc, and, as time went on, working evil magic on the godly. Motz suggests that the rides of Holda's followers actually occurred as a ritual even into the late Middle Ages, that they were something the church strived to stamp out.[75]

One last aspect of the verse portion of the charm can be elucidated by reference to Holda. The manuscript reading of the penultimate line of verse, a line with many incarnations due to editorial emendation, is described by Skemp as "grammatically correct, meaning 'he had a dwelling there in the mountain."[76] It should be pointed out that nothing in the grammar says "he" rather than "she." Storms lists a collection of proposed emendations, all of which retain a mountain and some of which allow the "hag" to be involved.[77] In fact, the mountain

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[75] Motz, "Winter Goddess," pp. 153-154.

[76] Arthur R. Skemp, "The Old English Charms," *Modern Language Review*, 6 (1911), p. 292.

[77] Storms, p. 148:

> *Fleo þœr on fyrgen, seo þone flan sceat.*
> *Hal westu. Helpe ðin drihten.*
> Grimm
>
> *Fled Þor on fyrgen hœfde*
> *halwes tu helpe ðin drihten.*
> 'Fled Thor to the mountain.
> Hallows he had two. May the lord help thee!'
> Cockayne
>
> *Fleoh þœr on fyrgen, seo þa flane sende!*
> *Heafde hal westu! Helpe ðin drihten!*
> 'Yonder to the mountain flee hag, who sent the dart!
> Be hale in head! Help thee the Lord!'

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is the key which draws all of the antagonistic forces finally together, for this mountain suggests nothing other than the Hörselberg from which Dame Holle and her *wüttige heer* issue[78] or the Venusberg that the host issues from and re-enters.[79] The mountain is the home of the Winter Goddess and her retinue and it is there they are sent by the charm, finally gathered together in one line to face the ultimate power in the world of the charm – the help of the Lord in the final verse line – and to be put in their place in that Christian world. Nearly every attribute of every character in *Wið Fœrstice* can be explained with reference to Holda/Perchta. Furthermore, examining the charm in the light of Holda elucidates structure and probable purpose of the charm, surprisingly placing the charm with all of its apparent pagan elements firmly in the world of Medieval Christianity. Lest we feel that all this paganism prevents us from accepting this as a Christian charm, it should be remembered that the traditions Grimm records from only a century ago, such as the Perchta-running in Salzburg,[80] were still

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Grendon

Fleo on fyrgenheafde
Hal wes tu! helpe ðin drihten.
Sweet

Fleoh Þœr flan on fyrgenheafde!
Hal wes tu! Helpe ðin drihten.
Skemp

Flet Þor on fyrgen hœfde
'Thor had a dwelling on the mountain.'
Bosworth and Toller

Fleoh on fyrgen-stream, þœr þu friðu hœfdest
Heafde hal wes tu. Helpe ðin drihten.
Holthausen

fleah þœr on fyrgenholt: fyrst ne hœfde.
Hal wes tu nu. Helpe ðin drihten.
Grattan

Added to this can be the ASPR's
*Fleoh _œr * * * on fyrgenheafd.*
Hal westu, helpe ðin drihten!

[78] Motz, "Winter Goddess," p. 153.
[79] Motz, "Winter Goddess," p. 154.
[80] Grimm, vol I, p. 279.

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believed and accepted by German Christians, people who had been Christian for far more generations than the Anglo-Saxons had been by the time the Charm was copied into the manuscript in which we have it. All of the traditions cited come from thoroughly Christian times much later than the Anglo-Saxon period. If we allow the followers of these traditions to live in a Christian world, we must assume that the users of *Wið Fœrstice* were also Christian, for nothing in *Wið Fœrstic* is foreign to later medieval and modern Christianity, and, most importantly, the Christian Lord *is* present. It is in the context of this Christian world-view that we must try to understand the structure and purpose of *Wið Fœrstice*.

Wið Fœrstice must be understood as a reflection of the culture which produced it. That culture was undoubtably Christian in the view of the people of the time. It cannot be denied that certain elements of the charm grow out of the pagan past; I would argue that virtually everything in the charm grows out of that past. But all of those elements had been absorbed by the Christianity of the time. In a comment which has much bearing on *Wið Fœrstice*, Karen Louise Jolley writes of the *Æcerbot*[81] ritual:

> This much debated ritual, though it bears evidence of many pre-Christian practices, contained no overtly pagan worship and in fact had a preponderance of Christian elements. For that time and place, it formed part of the religious practice of those worshipers. It was not magic, except from a modern view (the term "scientific" has little relevance); and although it was not calling for a miracle in the strict sense, it was certainly religion more than it was anything else. In terms used by Ælfric and the homilies, this ritual reflects the human effort to call down God's blessings on creation, in which God worked just as much as Christ worked miracles while on earth. The field ceremonies of the Æcerbot ritual demonstrates the religious/scientific view of the early medieval period in which all things were connected through God, allowing practices that tapped that power to cope with daily, earthly needs.[82]

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[81] This Charm is titled "For Unfruitful Land" in the *Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records* edition It is number 8 in Storms' edition.

[82] Karen Louise Jolly, "Magic Miracle and Popular Practice in the Early Medieval West: Anglo-Saxon England," in *Religion, Science, and Magic: In Concert and in Conflict*, eds. Jacob Neusner, Ernest S. Frerichs, and Paul Virgil McCraken Flesher (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 176.

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Wið Fœrstice is a charm which responds to what we would today call witchcraft. This witchcraft is directed against a presumably godly person by a number of figures who are followers of the goddess Holda/Perchta whose name is suggested by the repetition of the adjective *hlude* in the first line of verse. Her followers are the old gods, *esas*, of which she is one, smiths or elves, *ylfa*, and the *hœgtessan*, the frightening women with powers over sexual function. The structure of the poem squeezes these three groups together through a spiralling parallelism: the riders and the women are united; the smith and the smiths are united; the suggestion of Holda is united with the suggestion of Weland into the statement of the *esas*. The smiths are united with elves, the riders and women with the *hœgtessan*, and finally the *esas*, the elves/smiths, and the mighty *hœgtessa* are united and herded away to their mountain hall to face the Christian Lord. One is tempted to see a remembrance of the retreat of the Old Religion before the New Christian Faith in this reading of the charm. But, in fact, however much the Old Religion may have retreated, in history and in the charm, the Old Religion is not eradicated, it is absorbed and a syncretism results. Such a syncretic Christianity is preserved in *Wið Fœrstice*. *Wið Fœrstice*, like many of the Metrical Charms, contains elements with pagan roots, but it must always be remembered that it is in the nature of Christianity, as has been manifest countless times around the world, to take "pagan" structures, images, and themes, and to remake them and itself into a new Christianity.

In an article about the meaning of the Virgin of Guadalupe to contemporary Chicanas and *mexicanas*, Sandra Cisneros has this to say about the syncretism of the most important icon of Mexican Catholicism:

> In my research of Guadalupe's pre-Columbian antecedents, the she before the Church desexed her, I found Tonantizin, and inside Tonantzin a pantheon of other mother goddesses. I discovered Tlazolteotl, the goddess of fertility and sex, also referred to as Totzin, Our Beginnings, or Tzinteotl, goddess of the rump. *Putas*, nymphos, and other loose women were known as "women of the sex goddess." Tlazolteotl was the patron of sexual passion, and though she had the power to stir you to sin, she could also forgive you and cleanse you of your sexual transgressions via her priests who heard confession. In this aspect of confessor Tlazolteotl was known as Tlaelcuani, the filth eater ....
>
> To me, *la Virgen de Guadalupe* is also Coatlicue, the

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creative/destructive goddess.[83]

Lhasa de Sela, a Mexican-American musician, writes of *La Llorona*:

> "*La Llorona*" qui, en français, veut dire "La pleureuse", est un personnage légendaire mexicain qui a pris ses racines dans la mythologie aztèque et qui est devenu une figure populaire. D'ailleurs, les mères mexicains font peur à leurs enfants en leur disant que s'il ne se comportent pas bien, "La Llorona" va venir les manger."
> [*La Llorona*, whom one could call in French, the Weeping One, is a person of Mexican legend who has her roots in Aztec mythology and has become a popular figure. Furthermore, Mexicn mothers scare their children by telling them that if they are not good, *La Llorona* will come to eat them.]

This maternal warning is remarkably similar to the warnings associated with the European Winter Goddesses. De Sela continues:

> En fai, l'histoire dit que "La Llorona" séduit les hommes avec des mélodies tristes, les ensorcelle et les entraîne jusqu'au bord de la rivière pour les transformer en pierre par un baiser. Il paraît qu'elle agit ainsi afin de venger ses enfants qui ont été tués à cause de la guerre des hommes. Cette légende trouve ses premières origines dans le personnage mythologique aztèque de Cihuacoalt, la femme de Quetzalcoalt (le serpent plumé qui représente l'unification de la terre et du ciel). Cette femme est le vent qui coule entre ces deux éléments, soupirant et criant avec sa voix mélancolique.[84]
>
> [In fact, the story goes, that *La Llorona* seduces men with her sad melodies, she enchants and carries them away to the bank of the river to transform them into stone with a kiss. It appears she does this to avenge children who are killed because of the war of men. This legend has its first origins in the mythological figure of Cihuacoatl, the wife of Quetzalcoatl (the feathered serpent who represents the union of earth and sky). This woman is the wind who flows between these two elements, sighing and crying with a melancholy voice.]

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[83] "Guadalupe the Sex Goddess," *Ms* Vol VII, No. 1 (1996), p.45.
[84] wwwaudiogram.com/artistes/lhasa/lhasa.htm

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One has little hope of finding any tradition more pagan – pagan in the sense of being foreign to traditions which contributed to the original development of Christianity – than the traditions of the aboriginal cultures of the western hemisphere, and yet, these very traditions are at the heart of what is the orthodoxy of a large part of the Catholic world. *Wið Fœrstice* is a product of a Christian culture, just as Sandra Cisernos' response to the Virgin of Guadalupe is; we learn more about the complicated structure that is Christianity from *Wið Fœrstice* or Cisernos' description of the Virgin of Guadalupe than we do about the pagan world that came before. And yet, just as *La Llorona* continues to wander the secular Catholic streets of Guadelupe's Mexico, the Winter Goddess Holde may in popular belief have led ghostly bands of raging women and men through the woods and fields of Christian Anglo-Saxon England, and her footprints are preserved in *Wið Fœrstice*.

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GERMANIC MYTHOLOGY

Jakob Grimm

Translated by Vivian Bird

Part One: HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS Traditions and Basic Concepts; The Gods of the Germans; Heroes and Wise Women, Elves and Giants, the Highest Being; Worship and Sacrifice; Places of Worship; Priesthood; Wodan (Odin); Donar (The Thunder God) Thor; Ziu, the War God; Fro (Freyr), the Sun God and his Father Nirdu (Njord), a Sea God; Baldur, the Bright God; Heimdal, the Sentinel of the Heavenly Bridge; Bragi, the Skald; Oegir, (Aki) the Sea God; Loki the Instigator of Misfortune and the God of Fire; Frigga and Freya; Nerthus, Mother Earth; Frau Bertha; Ostara; THE NATURE OF THE GODS: Heroes and Wise Women: Heroes; Heroes of the Three Tribes: Ingo, Iskio, Irminsol; Siegfried and Dietrich von Bern; Nibelungs and Amerlungs; Godlike and Human Features of the Hero; Wise Women; The Norns; Valkyries and Swan Maiden; Dwarfs, Giants and Elves; Dwarfs; Wood Spirits and Wood Folk; Water Spirits, Nicks and Nixies; House Spirits, Goblins; Giants; ***Part Two:*** THE COSMOLOGY OF THE GERMANS; Creation: The Four Elements; Water, Fire, Air, Earth; Plants and Trees; Animals, Birds, Snakes, Toads and Dragons, Reptiles and Bees; The Heavens: Sun and Moon, Stars, Rainbow, Day and Night, Summer and Winter, Time and the World: Niflheim, Muspelli, The Kingdom in the Sky; Souls, Death, Destiny and Fortune, Personification, Skalds and Seers, Ghosts, Enchantment and Treasure Hoards; "The Devil"; Magic, Superstition, Sickness, Mystical Herbs and Stones, Blessings and Curses,

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Tracking in Schools: Can American Social Scientists Objectify Such a Sensitive Topic?[1]

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Tracking, or grouping children for instruction on the basis of ability and/or demonstrated academic achievement, has long characterized American educational practices inasmuch as it presumably provides a closer fit between what an individual student can learn and what is expected of that student in classrooms. Massive schooling changes introduced by forced busing created new educational issues: in virtually all school districts, tracking translated into a new form of racial segregation: a higher proportion of white children and a lower of minority children, were placed in advanced classes. Consequently influential educational reformers urge the demise of tracking and placement of students in classes irrespective of whether they can master course content. This paper urges more carefully empirical investigations before uncritical jettisoning of tracking.

Key Words: Public education, mainstreaming, inclusion, tracking,

The American public assumes that answers to complex educational issues can only emerge from spirited debate; therefore on virtually all higher education campuses professors enjoy tenure and freedom from retaliation for expressing views which to some are objectionable. It is in this spirit that today I invite discussion concerning the tracking controversy. Defined as the system of grouping students for instruction on the basis of ability and/or academic achievement, tracking contrasts with the untracking educational reform whereby students are placed in classes irrespective of physical status or academic competencies as assessed by such objective measures as standardized aptitude and achievement tests.*

Untracking means different things to different people and is practiced differently in various school districts. My discussions with teachers have revealed that untracking typically requires teachers to instruct students representing a wide range of academic abilities. As

[1] This paper was presented by the author at a Conference entitled International Perspectives on Race, Ethnicity, and Intercultural Relations, held at the University of Mississippi, Oxford, April 20, 2001

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one illustration of this, it is not uncommon in a ninth grade class for the range of reading abilities, measured by standardized achievement measures, to extend from third grade through the first year of college.

Recent years have witnessed increased untracking within the public schools, largely because of social and ethnic considerations, as well as concern expressed for children presenting a variety of physical/cognitive/affective exceptionalities. Support for untracking is largely fueled by claims that tracking promotes and perpetuates inequities and can be characterized as unfair, racist and discriminatory. However, polls reveal that most classroom teachers favor tracking. Despite characterizations of tracking as biased and discriminatory, educators are split concerning the practice which is supported by U.S. Department of Education initiatives, opposed by the American Federation of Teachers, and favored by the National Educational Association. (Dyal, A.B., et al, 1996)

Jeannie Oakes, the most commonly cited untracking advocate, opines that tracking is based on what she perceives as such erroneous concepts as the viability of general intelligence or *g*, that *g* is fixed early, and that early learning skills are common precursors of later academic and vocational success (1995). Therefore untracking reformers characteristically urge the virtual demise of standardized aptitude and achievement tests, ignore evidence that biological factors combined with early situational forces can close windows of cognitive opportunities as individuals mature, and question whether a firm base of knowledge and skills during the early years is linearly related to a person's subsequent learning proficiency levels.

To achieve "justice" within classrooms, untrackers customarily abandon assessment which links an understanding of what a student can learn to what the student is expected to learn in the classroom, and instead urge "high academic standards" for all, irrespective of IQ or achievement profiles, or of environmental and/or biological history and stressors. In this paper I propose that the real question is whether students of any social class, ethnicity, or exceptionality derive significant benefits from uncritical untracking extended to all, or if more differentiated education strategies are ultimately more productive and better serve the quasi-unique educational needs of diverse student populations.

History is said to be a good teacher and current untracking reforms are incomprehensible without examining its theoretical parent, *de facto* desegregation or forced busing. Several decades ago and often over fervent objections of minority and majority parents, forced busing

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constituted a highly moralized rallying cry within American education. The rationale of forced busing now lies in shambles, partly because its theoretical premises were prematurely accepted on the basis of presumed justice and equity, the primary perspective upon which forced busing was constructed and eventually crumbled, and which may ultimately destroy the credibility of basic untracking premises and further research weakens support for public education.

In retrospect, it is difficult to believe that virtually the entire social science community assumed that forced busing would significantly narrow the achievement gap of minority and majority students; not only were those predictions wrong, forced busing produced new stress for American students of all ethnic groups (Jackson, 2000; Scott, 2000). There is a very real possibility that untracking may prove even more educationally and socially counterproductive than forced busing. Ironically, the current untracking impetus is largely attributable to problems created by forced busing which produced intra-school segregation in the process of dismantling neighborhood schools.

Prior to *de facto* desegregation, student class placements were typically based on such educational criteria as standardized test results and observed classroom performance. But *de facto* desegregation produced new issues: when traditional educational yardsticks were applied, school desegregation facilitated classroom segregation; Disproportionately lower numbers of minority students, and disproportionately higher proportions of majority students, were assigned to classes which exacted higher academic demands (Oakes, 1995).

Troubling ethnic and social class segregation created a fervent rush to untracking, which like forced busing several decades earlier was advanced as a virtual panacea for unequal educational opportunities and outcomes. The tracking controversy was and is marked by emotional appeals but lacks statistical support. In fact a careful reading of empirical studies indicates that untracking continues to accelerate despite evidence that the practice is especially harmful to vulnerable students and also contributes to such effects as lower achievement of students with high potential. Therefore the nation has witnessed an exodus from the public schools of middle class children, as well as teacher burnout, disengagement from learning by both low and high academic achievers, and what Mary Wagner, director of a U.S. Education Department study on academic achievement of special education children, describes as a "climate of failure." (Wagner, 1994; Lubman, 1995; Oakes, 1998).

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Brevity is one price paid for the impressive forums and discussions we presently enjoy here in Oxford, Mississippi. Regrettably it is not possible today to comprehensively assess the complex educational and political implications of untracking. For those of you who wish to examine this issue in greater detail, I append a list of annotated references to copies of this paper. Despite emotionality and a misleading sense of morality that untracking elicits, I hope that our dialogues this week may facilitate a climate of open discussion which promotes formulation and implementation of more productive and equitable schooling practices within our increasingly diverse country.

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Evolution and the Future of Mankind

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The author speculates on the future course of human evolution and concludes that current reproductive disparities between the diverse populations of the world will dramatically change the past course of human evolution. Culture, which in prehistoric and early historic times generally served to enhance the survival chances of a population, in the modern world has frequently tended to develop in directions which harm rather than enhance the survival chances of populations which have accepted such anti-evolutionary values. Cultures whose core values are inimical to successful reproduction and the survival chances of the phylogenetic continuum will inevitably eliminate the societies which accept them.

Key Words: Evolution, Darwinism, speciation, fertility, demographic competition, gene pools, demes, altruism, territoriality, natural selection

I have often been asked by students: What will the men and women of the future look like? My answer has always been the same. Perhaps it was a disappointing one for those students who imagined I might reply that the future men and women of the world would have only one eye, extremely large foreheads, or some other kind of imaginative fantasy normally associated with science fiction. But nevertheless, my reply has always stimulated interest among the more thinking members of the class. We cannot forecast, I would say, the physical appearance of the future population of the world a score or more generations from now, but it is possible to make a fairly accurate forecast of what the inhabitants of the world will look like just one or two generations from now. Most of the students had never for one moment contemplated the possibility that the men and women of the next one or two generations might look in any way different from the people they had been accustomed to seeing around them. Inevitably, the next question was an extension of the first: In what way will they look different? Again the answer was simple and uncomplicated: If you want to know what human beings will look like in the near future, just take a look at the people who are producing the most offspring.

Like my answers, the current evolutionary trend of mankind is very clear. When we are talking about evolution we should not be misled

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by any imaginative assumption that there is some basic principle that requires each generation of men and women to be necessarily brighter and more intelligent, more 'highly evolved,' than the previous generation. Indeed, the reverse has too often been the case in respect of different societies at specific times and places in history. It is no accident that every urbanized civilization in history has collapsed, either from external or internal pressures. Evolution is not committed to the further advancement of humankind, or of any particular species: untold numbers of promising species have disappeared into oblivion, when the casual observer would have imagined that they were destined for even greater genetic advancement and evolutionary 'achievement'. Evolution is concerned, ultimately, only with fertility, and with the survival of the offspring of the members of a species to the point where the offspring in turn will prove to be competitively successful as procreators of yet another generation. Evolution has no long-term goals, although some who still adhere to the Judaeo-Christian tradition like to flatter themselves that human beings are the apple of God's eye and are in some way the forever-favored children of evolution. Evolution is, in reality, nothing more than a statement of what has happened and what is happening to living organisms in the universe. No species or subspecies is predestined for biological advancement and glory. A species or subspecies may become extinct much more rapidly than it took to attain a position of eminence on the evolutionary ladder.

The Evolutionary Process

To what extent, then, may we speculate on the future course of evolution in respect of humankind? The answer is again straightforward. Not very far: there are too many imponderables. But we *can* positively identify the principles that guide the course of population change, although these are rarely discussed with the necessary frankness for fear of shattering the human ego.

Many solemnly revered misconceptions and prejudices, such as are embedded in the popular notion that men and women are blessed with 'natural rights' and that the future welfare of humankind can be assured merely by honoring the 'rights of man,' have been grafted onto the traditional more evolutionary-oriented traditional cultures of modern 'Western' culture. The destruction of these elaborate fantasies and ideologies could so totally disrupt the present social ethos that those concerned with maintaining stability conclude that it is more advantageous to protect the ideological status quo, based though this

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might be on a number of seriously false assumptions, than to risk promoting objective discussion concerning the implication of scientific information about biology and evolution to the discussion of ethics.

As biologists are aware, demographic changes can take place very quickly over major areas, so that entire animal populations may disappear within a few generations, to be replaced by a rival species or subspecies more capable of successful reproduction under prevailing conditions. Because of its capacity to over-reproduce, reproductively successful populations multiply – sufficient resources and breeding space being available – to fill any territorial and ecological niche left unoccupied or unprotected by less progenitive populations.

As organisms 'at the top of the food chain,' it is an ecological necessity that the higher mammals should tend to be territorial in their habits, or follow regular migratory patterns. Territoriality has survival value in that it ensures an adequate food supply to the resident population, but despite this, the pressure of population on resources is an ongoing evolutionary force. The surplus population of any one territory is always ready to fill any ecological niche it can control in neighboring territories. It is no accident that today there is only a very small number of apes surviving in the world, and that the rapidly burgeoning human masses of Africa and Asia are seemingly in the process of appropriating territories formerly utilized by other mammalian life forms.

Since territoriality – the control of an adequate supply of resources to sustain life – is so important at the mammalian and primate levels of evolution, cooperation between members of the 'deme' or breeding population has become an evolutionary necessity. All primates live in some kind of family, troop or band situation, and collaborate for the survival of the group – for the intergenerational survival of the group, via its offspring, rather than merely the survival of individual members within the group, even though group survival usually also involves group protection of the individual.

Evolution and Mankind

Let us reflect on our species as a part and product of the evolutionary process. The highly complex inorganic material which was to evolve into organic life forms probably first existed on this earth in the form of minute chains of linked amino-acid molecules floating on water. Some of these eventually combined to form living organic matter. It is a somewhat sobering thought to reflect that at that time

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the earth's atmosphere contained no oxygen, and that the surface of the earth as we know it today, and even the oxygen in our atmosphere, is a product of billions of years of metabolic activity by living organisms.

It is an even more sobering thought to reflect that the spontaneous emergence of 'organic' life, capable of complex ongoing and self-sustaining chemical interaction, can probably no longer occur on this earth, since the conditions under which life originally evolved no longer exist. Indeed, we would do well to remember always that life does not begin with the birth of a new child, or the propagation of a seed. Life is an ancient and ongoing process, involving species and subspecies, in which 'individual' organic beings are but links in an ongoing chain. The phylogenetic continuum, not the individual, is the ongoing vehicle which perpetuates life, and which has biological meaning. In an evolutionary context, we are no more than trustees of the life force contained in our genes, and as individuals we are only important in that we hold in trust in our genes the destiny of our race. The life that is in us is at least three and a half billion years old, and we are therefore the bearers of a very sacred trust; to ensure that our species continues to survive, and avoids degeneration, we need to endow the next generation with at least as good a collection of genes as went into the making of our generation. Our ability to do this depends upon a very simple and basic factor; it depends upon who mates with whom and how many offspring they produce, nurture, and raise to maturity when they in turn are able to produce a further generation.

Speciation: The Reproduction and Multiplication of Life Forms

Because the conditions which permitted the spontaneous evolution of life ceased long ago, it is obvious that the early organic life forms that first emerged would probably have become extinct had they not, in some causal circumstance or another, just happened to multiply themselves, at first possibly by simple division – by dividing into separate living units. Reproduction made possible the survival of life, despite the repeated 'accidental' elimination of those individual living organisms that found themselves in unsuitable environments and failed to continue the vital self-sustaining metabolic process – or, in other words, died. Consequently, reproduction, the act of multiplication, became an essential activity for the survival of life.

Since matter and energy in the universe are in a continuing state of change, even the earliest self-sustaining primitive blobs of polymer

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jelly were liable to be affected by novel physico-chemical activities in the external environment. As a result of constantly changing conditions, certain forms of organic activity might be eliminated altogether, whereas others might experience modifications such as would permit them to survive in new ecological niches. In addition, survival was facilitated by the development of an ability to vary behavior to respond to changes in the environment, and this involved an evolution toward increasing complexity of structure and of the metabolic process. While, to this day, hundreds of thousands of separate species of simple life forms, such as bacteria and protozoa, still flourish, each well adapted to the problem of continued organic activity within a specific ecological or environmental niche, other species of life forms, far less numerous, have evolved sensory and nervous equipment which enables them to produce appropriate responses to facilitate their survival in changing environmental conditions. At the peak of this latter pyramid stand the Hominids, especially those with higher intelligence. Human sensory and reasoning equipment evolved sufficiently to enable our forebears to survive the dangers of the jungle and savannah – and later, amongst the forebears of Caucasoids and Mongoloids, to surmount the even tougher problem of surviving harsh winters long enough to reach maturity and continue the reproductive process.

Phylogenetic Variation in Man

Evolution, then, has taken two routes. The first has led to the diversification of life forms into separate species and subspecies. A species is a recognizably distinct form of life which retains its distinctive qualities because it customarily does not cross-breed with other life forms. Genetically isolated for long enough, and subjected to ongoing selective processes, highly evolved populations tend to evolve into genetically distinct species which lose the biological ability to reproduce when crossed with other living species. In Nature, geographical barriers, lifestyles and living habits generally prevent the members of different species from crossbreeding (and thus losing their separateness) long before they have become so different from each other as to have lost the biological ability to crossbreed.

Such populations, which still retain the biological potential to crossbreed, but which do not normally interbreed because of either environmental or in-built psychological barriers, are called subspecies. In short, subspecies were evolutionary experiments – genetically

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distinctive populations which are on their way to becoming separate species. Evolution, representing the creation of thousands of millions of different species of life forms, as well as the creation of a hierarchy of highly complex and diversified animal and plant species, could never have taken place but for the evolutionary tendency for undiversified parental life forms to evolve first into separate and slightly different subspecies, and later into separate, mutually infertile, species. During the delicate time in which these experimental populations are at the subspecies level of evolutionary progress, but have not yet become sufficiently different to be mutually infertile, evolution would be impossible if each and every one of Nature's experiments were to be frustrated by reabsorption into the main bulk of the parental species. Because topographical barriers could not be relied upon to prevent this from happening in the case of the more sophisticated and highly mobile life forms, such as birds and mammals, built-in psychological 'prejudices' arose to prevent subspecific crossbreeding. Barriers which prevent the elimination of sub-specific differences as a result of miscegenation are essential to speciation, which is an inherent part of the evolutionary mechanism. Any relaxation in the evolutionary process must inevitably have negative evolutionary value, and is likely to be fatal to the population which experiences such a relaxation.

This last concept is of crucial importance to a proper understanding of the evolutionary purpose of 'race prejudice' among human beings – and to attempts to forecast the future of the human species. The diverse races of man originated as incipient subspecies – as different evolutionary experiments which, if genetically isolated for long enough under different conditions, would eventually have evolved into quite separate and mutually infertile species in the same way that the ancestors of man came to differ from other primate species and became biologically infertile in relation to them. Evolution to date has depended upon the relative genetic isolation of the various subspecies, each of which historically tended to comprise numerous even smaller communities or breeding populations, characterized by a high rate of inbreeding and consequent rapid selection potential. But during recent centuries, and especially recent decades, the various subspecies of man have become increasingly intermixed in many parts of the world. Human ingenuity has decreased the biological significance of geographical barriers where man is concerned, and indeed has also upset the ecological balance of such barriers for other life forms. Furthermore, psychological barriers to cross-breeding are weakening because the

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innate propensity for altruism toward members of the in-group, encouraging efficient cooperation amongst members of the group to promote its survival chances in competition with other groups, has become distorted in its operation. Team spirit has survival qualities in enhancing the competitive qualities of the group; but in today's world, technological achievements in communications have resulted in a confusion in the minds of the members of the technologically more advanced societies as to the limits and identity of the group to which they belong. Western nations in particular have largely lost their sense of distinctive identity, tending to extend their concept of "community" to embrace the entire population of living hominids. They overlook the fact that evolution is still at work, and living hominids are still engaged in fierce procreative struggle to parent the next generation of humankind.

Altruism in Relation to Genetic Competition

The prevailing withdrawal of the Western nations from the evolutionary struggle is a one hundred and eighty degree reversal from the natural function of altruism, which evolved as a mechanism that promoted the survival chances of the group in its competition with rival groups for control over life-sustaining resources.

As a result of the sociobiological confusion created by modern communications, most Caucasoid populations of today seem to be disinterested in ensuring the intergenerational survival of their own distinctive gene pool. They strive to suppress biologically meaningful inhibitions which would enhance the intergenerational survival of their own subspecies. The 'movement against racism' has produced legislation and fiscal structures that repress in-group reproduction while providing financial and technical assistance to promote the growth of rival populations and subspecies. Interestingly, this trend is not common to most African, Asian and Latin American populations. These latter still strive to maximize their own populations and exhibit a high degree of biological competitiveness – with a tendency for members of their burgeoning populations to infiltrate other territories around the world, wherever they can obtain entry, in order to secure for themselves and their offspring a larger proportion of the available supply of global resources.

Evolution and the Future of Man

Let us now look once again at the process by which evolution

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occurs. In a natural environment, the process of selection operates to create a variety of diverse life forms, which survive through either (1) a 'passive' adaptation to the conditions of the environment, or (2) an ability to vary their responses to meet the challenge of survival in changing environments. This process of selection, however, is dependent upon another important proclivity – all living organisms that have survived to the present have done so because they have developed the tendency to over-reproduce themselves. In other words, evolutionary progress is dependent upon the tendency of species and subspecies to over-reproduce themselves, and overpopulation and the resultant competition for survival is an integral element in the evolutionary process. Without overpopulation, and imbalances in the rate of successful reproduction, little or no evolutionary change would take place. Thus, within any one breeding population there is a continual sifting and sorting of genes, as changes in the environment exert different selective pressures on population, favoring differently endowed individuals in the competition to produce offspring, thus ensuring the intergenerational survival of the phylogenetic continuum.[1]

Many casual observers of evolution have assumed that competition to reproduce takes place solely among individuals within the same population. But that is not the case. It was not by accident that Darwin entitled his famous work, *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection or The Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life*.[2] Nor, perhaps, is it altogether an accident that the full title is seldom quoted, since although this may generally be attributed to its length, the full title undoubtedly disturbs those who seek an end to racial competition and the amalgamation of all hominid subspecies. The full title implies, quite clearly and with remarkable perception, that the requirements of evolutionary progress run contrary to the present-day trend toward racial intermixture. This plain fact is especially observable at the higher levels of evolution, where competition for survival is not merely between individuals but – possibly more significantly – between rival gene pools or even subspecies. Indeed, it is rival subspecies, depending on a similar source of food and closely similar ecological niches, that compete the most strenuously. Different species of plants and animals may well coexist very happily in

[1] See *Ecology and Evolution*, Ed. Roger Pearson, Scott-Townsend Publishers, Washignton D.C. for a stimulating investigation of this concept.

[2] London, Murray, 1859.

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the same ecological community, and tend to become interdependent upon each other in a balanced or only slowly changing pattern of inter-relationship. But similar subspecies are, by Nature, literally, competitors. Recent investigation into the evolutionary mechanism has shown that highly significant evolutionary changes often occur in a relatively short span of time as a result of the migration of one subspecies into the territory of another, with the less competitive passing into oblivion.

Similarly, it is not an accident that the reproductively more efficient, highly fertile populations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, guided by traditional cultures and sociobiologically-appropriate values which encourage reproductive competition, are today seeking out whatever niches may become available to them in the economically more successful nation-states of Europe and North America – seeking to enter and settle in these lands by any means, legal or illegal. By contrast, the Caucasoids of Europe and North America, today devote a sizeable part of their resources to providing technological and economic aid to the exploding Third World populations. Indeed, the indiegenous population of Europe is failing to maintain its current level of population, and seems self-doomed to extinction because of its declining birth rate – which in Italy and Eastern Europe is plummeting with astonishing rapidity. In countries such as Italy, Germany, Sweden and Denmark, the native European population is failing to maintain its former levels, and seems quite unable to compete with the high birthrate of the non-European immigrants – who are being constantly reinforced by further immigration. Unlike the populations of their host countries, these immigrants still follow positive Darwinian practices and continue to maintain high fertility rates in the lands in which they have settled. Some, particularly those of South Asian origin, consciously realize that life is still a competitive activity, and that their prime biological duty involves self-multiplication and a dedication to the welfare of their offspring.

A Perverted Culture Can Eliminate a Population

Culture, as a product of intelligence and sociobiological drives, can promote the survival chances of individuals and populations. But once culture loses its sociobiological links, and works to discourage procreation and altruistic devotion to the survival of the deme, gene pool or breeding population, it ceases to have survival value. Indeed, perverted cultures – cultures which no longer promote the genetic survival of those who espouse them – can actually lessen the survival

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chances of a population. The evolutionary unfitness of the contemporary Caucasoid peoples of Europe, North America and Australasia lies not in their genes but in their present-day culture: not in any medical or intellectual unfitness but in their ideology and ethics. Their culture today teaches them to condemn natural proclivities toward identifying with and favoring their own kind, such as would incline them to seek to ensure the intergenerational survival of their own subspecies. In consequence they spurn efforts to protect, for their own offspring the territorial and economic base essential for the survival of living organisms, and instead devote their altruistic impulses not to the well-being of their own subspecies, but to saving and nourishing the offspring of those same subspecies that are outbreeding them. They are refusing to compete, as a biological unit, for survival under the prevailing socioeconomic and political conditions, because they have accepted a confused pot-pourri of self-destructive ideologies and moral concepts which have negative survival value. I am not saying that this is good or bad - merely describing the vast evolutionary implications of what is actually happening.

The prevailing cultural values of the West even weaken the genetic fitness of the nations so affected. In economies where redistributive welfare has been carried to dysgenic extremes, productive individuals tend to be taxed too highly for them to afford to raise children to the educational level to which they aspire, while the low-achieving and low-aspiring elements of the population are not only able to survive but are financially encouraged to reproduce themselves at relatively higher rates. Cultural qualities are not as persistent as genetic qualities; evolution does not extend credit to any species or subspecies just because it has handicapped itself with cultural values which are negative in impact from the point of view of phylogenetic survival. Evolution does not reward 'genetic altruism'.[3] The selective impact of evolutionary forces is both immediate and non-reversible. Those breeding populations which fail to meet the conditions for self-survival for even a short time-span of evolutionary selection, and which fail, in other words, to procreate successfully and to pass on to their offspring not only their genes but also the territorial and economic means for survival can have no phylogenetic future. No matter how superior their mental

[3] The term "genetic altruism" refers to the willingness of specific members of a community, or of the world's population, to forego the opportunity to pass their genes on to future generations in order to assist other individuals or populations to achieve this goal.

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or physical qualities might be, no matter how impressive their potential for long-term evolutionary achievement these qualities will not survive if their genes are not passed on. For modern man, culture has become more important than natural selection in determining the direction of human evolution.

Conclusion: The Darwinian Reality

Thus, the study of evolution – of the basic processes at work in the universe – inculcates one lesson above all others: it is not the meek who will inherit the earth, nor even the most altruistic or intelligent; the future belongs to the reproductively more successful. This will be true for so long as the more prolific are able to ensure that their numerous offspring will be able to penetrate new territories and obtain access to the additional economic resources they will need for their own survival and further multiplication. To those who ask what future generations of hominids will be like, I say again: Look around the world at the people who are reproducing the most prolifically, and you will see the people who will surely inherit the earth.

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Alexander Graham Bell: Eugenicist

James Jamieson
Institute for the Study of Man

The author examines the little-known views of Alexander Graham Bell, the inventor of the telephone, on the importance of quality breeding. Inspired by the success of animal breeders, and concerned about the need for maintaining the quality of the human race in order that mankind would be able to cope with future advances in human technology, Bell developed a pronounced interest on genetic research but argued that emphasis should be placed on positive eugenics, that is to say on increasing the percentage of births amongst persons of proven lineage rather than on negative eugenics, which aimed at preventing the reproduction of genetically-handicapped individuals.

Key Words: Alexander Graham Bell, positive eugenics, negative eugenics

Alexander Graham Bell (1847-1922), the inventor of the telephone, was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, the son of Alexander Melville Bell, a specialist in the science of speech, who developed a physiological alphabet to represent visually the articulating position of the vocal organs for each sound. It was not inappropriate, therefore, that his son, Alexander Graham, should become a teacher of speech for the deaf, and from that vantage point should employ his outstanding talents to the invention of the telephone (1873-76). Famed as he is for this achievement, it is perhaps less known that in the course of his life he solved many other technical problems, developing a technique for locating bullets in human bodies without surgery, designing a recorder for Edison's phonograph, and determining a method for achieving stability of balance in early flying machines. But it is even less widely known that he was a devoted believer in the need to sustain the genetic quality of the human race, and that he was an ardent advocate of positive eugenics – of the need to improve the human breed by increasing the percentage of what he called superior individuals in future generations.

Characteristic of the more far-sighted and highly educated members of Western nations during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century was the serious commitment to social ideals of many practical scientists. It may safely be said that despite the massive genetic and material waste of the Great

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War, something of the Victorian confidence in the future of mankind survived. This is evidenced, amongst other things, by the readiness with which those who had seen so many of the finest of European youth eliminated before they could produce offspring, thereby depriving posterity of the genes that they carried in trust for their nation, confidently asserted that bloodiest of wars was a War to end all Wars. Ironically they made this assertion while the statesmen of Europe were constructing the Treaty of Versailles which carried in its terms a guarantee of World War II. But much of that optimism did remain, particularly in light of the rapid technological advances which saw in one lifetime the replacement of the horse by the automobile and the airplane, and of visual flag signals by the telephone.

Alexander Graham Bell was one of those dedicated optimists who sought above all to build a better future for mankind. Significantly, he was also one of the leading advocates of human genetic improvement, being an enthusiastic supporter of the new eugenics movement which found support from most sides of the political spectrum wherever men who actually wished to serve mankind, rather than to advance their own selfish interests, were to be found. He is to be honored amongst the most high-minded and enlightened idealists of the beginning of the twentieth century, when men believed that scientific progress would be wisely applied for the benefit of mankind. As such, he and his confreres contrast markedly with the intellectual leaders of today, who have seen how uncertain is the basis for any belief that mankind can be trusted to utilize its vast new power to reshape the planet with wisdom.

Bell realized, above all, that apart from moral and ethical disparities, there was also a wide range of disparity in intelligence and other genetically based abilities among the individuals and populations that comprise contemporary humanity. Bell correctly believed that with the advance of genetic science mankind would acquire an adequate understanding of genetics sufficient to allow human intervention in the evolutionary process, so that men could not only prevent the dysgenic decay which was even then threatening the West, but could by peaceful and non-coercive measures work to ensure a better and brighter future for posterity by promoting the incidence of health-giving and creative genes. In his own words, he participated actively in the youthful and confident eugenics movement of his day, and gave freely of his time to attend meetings, making speeches at various eugenics gatherings, including the First International Eugenic Conference, held in London

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in 1912, of which he was a sponsoring Vice-President.[1]

Mankind, he argued, should not only learn to advance its technological control over nature, and use this knowledge in a wise and not a destructive manner, but should ensure that there would be an adequate number of individuals with a sufficiently high level of intelligence to preserve and further advance the powerful technology they were developing. Bell tried to encourage his fellow men to accept the need for research into human genetics and the need to husband carefully the best of mankind's genetic heritage. Once the higher levels of intelligence and personality were lost, all the learning in the world would be useless, and indeed what skills man had acquired might well be used to the detriment of mankind and all life forms, not to mention environmental destruction.

Like the prime inventory of the transistor, Nobel prize-winner William Shockley a generation later, Graham Bell authored a number of articles aimed at raising the awareness of the public to the importance of genetics and of maintaining the quality of the human race. These included "A Few Thoughts Concerning Eugenics,"[2] "How to Improve the Race," and "The Duration of Life and Conditions Associated with Longevity."[3] "How to Improve the Race"[4] most clearly reveals his positive desire to increase reproduction from amongst those descended from several generations of sound and distinguished stock, rather than attempt to restrict the reproduction of those with genetic disabilities.

His latter article, published in *Journal of Heredity* in 1914, Bell declared that: "living organisms have been so plastic in the hands of

---

[1] Some seven hundred and fifty participants from Europe and America attended this noteworthy gathering. The Inaugural Address was given by the Right Honorable Arthur Balfour, later to become Prime Minister of Britain, and other sponsors included the Lord Chief Justice of Britain, the Right Honorable Winston Churchill, the Lord Bishop of Ripon, and a former President of Harvard. This was at a time when diverse intellectuals ranging from Leonard Darwin and Havelock Ellis to George Bernard Shaw, Harold Laski and the social reformers, Beatrice and Sidney Webb all recognized the importance of maintaining the genetic quality of a population. It is ironic to realize that just two years after this propitious meeting, World War I broke out, and destroyed the very finest elements of European youth before they were old enough to pass on their genes to the future population of Europe.

[2] "A Few Thoughts Concerning Eugenics", *National Geographic*, Vol. 19, 1908.

[3] "The Duration of Life and Conditions Associated with Longevity: A Study of the Hyde Genealogy", Genealogical Record Office, Washington D.C., 1918. In this detailed study Bell demonstrated that, in his own words, "disease-resistant quality is inherited by offspring."

[4] "How to Improve the Race", *The Journal of Heredity* (Organ of the American Genetic Association), Washington D.C. Janauary 1914, Vol V, No 1, pp. 1-7.

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scientific breeders that we have learned to improve our breeds of plants and animals by suitable selection controlled by man." He continued:

> Human beings, also, are undoubtedly capable of modification by selection; but it is manifestly impossible to apply to them the processes employed with the lower animals.
>
> The difficulties of the problem may perhaps be appreciated if we consider for a moment how far it would be possible to improve our breeds of domestic animals under the conditions which prevail among human beings.

Bell could already see that human values which run contrary to the principles of evolution and the realities of the universe can only constitute a threat to the survival of humanity, for no values that run counter to reality can ever be fulfilled, and must work to the detriment of those whom they were intended to benefit. To illustrate his point he cited, as an example, the absurdity of trying to improve the breed of a flock of sheep under the prevailing mores and values under which men and women live and reproduce.

> The problem may perhaps be appreciated if we consider for a moment how far it would be possible to improve our breeds of domestic animals under the conditions that prevail among human beings.
>
> Given, for example, a flock of sheep to be improved, but under human conditions.
>
> First, we must not butcher any of the animals. Bovine life is to be considered as sacred as human life. We must not mutilate the animals; nor do anything to them that is inconsistent with the humanitarian spirit of the age.
>
> The weaklings are to be preserved and given special care. In fact, all of the animals, including the poor little deformed lambs, are to be kept alive as long as possible....
>
> To these conditions we may add the following: polygamous unions must not be permitted; nor unions between individuals related in various ways. While we are forbidden to allow certain classes of unions, we are not permitted to select the individuals that should be mated together to improve the stock. Each individual of the flock, under the restrictions referred to, must be free to choose its own mate; and the pairing shall be for life.
>
> We confidently assert that under such conditions no scientific breeder would undertake to improve the flock, - it would not be

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possible.

But these are the conditions we must face in attempting to improve our own race; and we may as well recognize, first and last, that we have no power to compel improvement.

Yet Alexander Graham Bell was true to the optimism of his generation. He and his contemporaries had seen scientific progress of a hitherto unbelievable level of achievement, and they had seen the conversion of the bulk of the Western world from an age of ignorance, which had accepted an ancient Middle Eastern myth about the miraculous creation in seven days not only of mankind and all living things but of the entire solar system to an age in which the more enlightened members of Western societies had come to accept the reality of Darwinian evolution and Mendelian genetics. Consequently, Bell seems to have believed that the influence of the intelligent leaders of the Western world was sufficiently great, and the respect for rational logic was sufficiently deeply rooted in the hearts of men, that "Truth and Understanding" would triumph. Thus, he reasoned that:

A gleam of hope, however, appears in this connection when we realize that there is one great and fundamental difference between a community of human beings, and a flock or herd of animals: The individuals of the human community possess intelligence.

The individuals have power to improve the race, but not the knowledge of what to do. We students of genetics possess the knowledge but not the power; and the great hope lies in the dissemination of our knowledge among the people at large.

Another important difference between human beings and the lower animals, arising from intelligence, is that human beings give some thought to their unborn progeny. All desire that their offspring may be of the best; and no one wishes to have degenerate or defective children.

The attitude of the public mind is therefore favorable to voluntary compliance with plans which appeal to the intelligence of the community as reasonable and right; and favorable to the formation of a public opinion which will compel compliance.

These are such hopeful conditions that they will bear recapitulation. The members of a human community, both individually and collectively, desire that their descendants may, if possible, be better than themselves.

They possess intelligence to understand the laws of heredity as applicable to man; and a willingness to adopt any reasonable and

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practicable measures that may be formulated for the benefit of future generations.

All recognize the fact that the laws of heredity which apply to animals also apply to man; and that therefore the breeder of animals is fitted to guide public opinion on questions relating to human heredity, without power to control, he has power to advise; and the public generally will accept his statements as sound, because [they are] based upon special knowledge and experience in the breeding of animals.

Alas, this great benefactor of mankind seems to have had too much faith in mankind. Since his time it has become apparent that misguided sentiment overpowers reason. In common with so many other educated idealists of his time, Bell believed that reason and honest, unselfish, intelligent altruism would prevail. All that was necessary was for the people of his own level of intellect to show the path to the rest of mankind, and they would see the opportunities that were now in the hand of man. There was an underclass, he knew, from whom nothing could be hoped. But the vast mass of mankind was sufficiently rational and well-meaning that just as they had welcomed and appreciated the telephone, so he felt sure they would welcome the opportunity to benefit posterity:

> The first thing for us to do, is to make known to the public the processes that are needed to improve the race; and then to show, by intelligent co-operation among the members of the community, these processes may be applied.

Where Graham Bell stood out from amongst so many other eugenicists, and indeed from amongst the eugenicists of the modern day, was in his emphasis upon *positive* eugenics, rather than *negative* eugenics. By positive eugenics we refer to measures aimed at increasing the fertility of the fit, whereas negative eugenics aims at eliminating specific defects from the gene-line. Indeed, he criticized those who concentrated their efforts on the latter goal to the detriment of the former:

> ....improvement depends upon *increasing the number and proportion of desirables born in successive generations of the population.* [Graham Bell's italics] Hence, this should be the chief object of eugenics; and it is to be regretted that the efforts of eugenists have been mainly directed to the diminution of the undesirable class.

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And furthermore, while he recognizes the advantage of increasing the percentage of fit or "desirable" individuals within the population, he stresses, from a practical point of view, the importance of the mainstream population which is neither significantly superior from a genetic standpoint or clearly defective. This was an important aspect of his approach to eugenics, because he realized that the mainstream population carries within it both exceptionally desirable genes and also patently undesirable genes. He argues that:

> We are accustomed to focus our attention so exclusively upon the desirable and undesirable classes that we are apt to forget that there is an intermediate class, the normal, which is many times greater than both the others put together, constituting, indeed the bulk of the population.
>
> Where a number of people in the same family exhibit the same congenital peculiarity we have good reason to believe that it is an inherited characteristic, and therefore liable to be handed down to some of the descendants by any member of the family, even by those members who do not exhibit the peculiarity in their own persons.
>
> In spite of the smallness of the desirable class, its influence in improving the normal population would be considerable should it contain a number of highly prepotent individuals.

A sufficiently prolific superior class of persons can then supply a number of individuals to interbreed with the mainstream of the population, thus raising the level of the latter. This does not require simply that talented or "prepotent" individuals should interbreed with the main stock or "normal" population, but " [W]e should also remember that the brothers and sisters of the prepotent individuals will also have a strong tendency to produce desirable offspring where they marry normals with normal ancestry."

Thus:

> The liability of normal persons to have desirable offspring will be increased by marriages with persons of the desirable class; and diminished by marriages with undesirables.
>
> In the latter case the proportion of undesirable children will be increased and if the undesirable partner is descended from undesirable ancestors the proportion of undesirable children will be still further increased.

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However, he does not recommend that desirable individuals should interbreed with members of the "undesirable class", since he believes that this would simply waste the genetic talent of the superior class:

> The establishment of even a small body of prepotent individuals within the undesirable class would exert a considerable harmful influence, because their marriages with normal persons would result chiefly in the production of undesirable children.

Bell noted from animal breeding the importance of thoroughbred stock, which through generations has shown itself to be free from genetic defects and genetically inferior qualities. Whenever those who were descended from several generations of healthy or superior stock interbred with those of more mixed descent, he believed that their genetic character would tend to predominate over the latter, on the analogical evidence derived from horse breeding. He therefore described such individuals "prepotent", and claimed that:

> The improvement [in the human stock] will be still greater when we have a body of desirable persons who had grandparents as well as parents desirable; and still greater with each increase in the number of desirable ancestors.

Bell's positive eugenics was aimed at raising the level of the mainstream population by encouraging not only plentiful breeding amongst those of superior abilities, but by encouraging a percentage of the surplus of the "prepotent" desirable stock to interbreed with members of the mainstream population:

> Thus, the simple process of promoting the marriages of the desirable will, through the mixture of the descendants with the rest of the population, inaugurate an improvement of the whole race; and the movement will advance with accelerated velocity as we have more and more potent individuals of the desirable class. This process continued through a number of successive generations would ultimately result in the establishment of a prepotent stock within the desirable class, and then the improvement would be very marked indeed.

But this was secondary to the importance of encouraging more prolific procreation among the superior class:

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> Here it is to be noted that the elevating tendency is due to the desirable class alone; and that improvement depends upon increasing the number of that class.

And again:

> Given a large Normal class, and two smaller classes, the desirable and the undesirable, the problem is, how to increase the proportion of desirable children born from the normal population. His can be achieved by marriage with members of the desirable class.

Focusing his interest on "positive eugenics," on increasing the percentage of offspring born to competent and healthy members of the nation. Bell was highly skeptical of "negative eugenics," which is today the only form of eugenics regarded as morally acceptable. Most who claim to be authorities in the ethics of reproductive policies condemn attempts to promote a higher rate of reproduction among the more competent and healthy members of society, but will concede, albeit sometimes begrudgingly, the medical advantages to be gained from discouraging the intergenerational transmission of defective genes. Thus we find Bell condemning those who seek only to detect and remove deleterious genes from the human stock, a policy which in his day seemed impracticable and liable, by its failure, to bring eugenics into disrepute, and declaring that:

> Here it is to be noted that the elevating tendency is due to the desirable class alone; and that improvement depends upon *increasing the number and proportion of desirables born in successive generations in successive generations of the population.* Hence, this should be the chief object of eugenics; and it is to be regretted that the efforts of eugenists have been mainly directed to the diminution of the undesirable class.
>
> So much has this been the case that the very word "eugenics" is suggestive to most minds of hereditary diseases and objectionable abnormalities; and of an attempt to interfere, by compulsory means, with the marriages of the defective and undesirable. This relates to cacogenics ("badly born") rather than to eugenics ("well born"). The utmost that could be even hoped for from such a process would be to lessen the tendency to retrogression and degeneration.

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Thus, Bell believed, correctly in light of the level of scientific knowledge in his time, that defective genes were so widely diffused throughout the population that attempts to eliminate them by the means then available would fail and bring eugenics a bad reputation. Indeed, he asserted that "[W]hatever processes may be employed to improve the race, we shall always have the undesirable with us, because they are sprung mainly from the normal class." Breeding primarily from stock that was proved through the generations to be at least relatively free from such defects was the more practicable solution.

It would seem certain, however, that Bell's views in this regard arose solely from the limitations of genetic science in his day and the impossibility of rooting out genetic illnesses due the elementary nature of genetic science at the beginning of the twentieth century. By contrast, contemporary science is advancing rapidly in this direction, and Bell would have been one of the foremost advocates of such research if he had been alive today.

Instead, placing his trust in the theoretically obtainable objective of increasing procreation amongst those born from several generations of fit, healthy and competent individuals, he optimistically declared that:

> A public sentiment already exists that persons possessing inherited characteristics of a desirable kind should marry and have large families. This sentiment undoubtedly is favorable to the improvement of the race; but it does not go far enough.
>
> We should impress upon the public the point that one certain means of increasing the prevalence of any hereditary characteristic in a community is to induce the individuals who possess it to marry one another; and thus produce a more potent stock in the next generation.
>
> The attitude of the public mind is therefore favorable to voluntary compliance with plans which appeal to the intelligence of the community as reasonable and right; and favorable to the formation of a public opinion which will compel compliance.

In retrospect it is tragic to observe how the faith in human nature of this man of great intellect, himself a major benefactor of mankind, was so ill-fated. He continues:

> They [the public] possess intelligence to understand the laws of heredity as applicable to man; and a willingness to adopt any reasonable and practicable measures that may be formulated for

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the benefit of future generations.

All recognize the fact that the laws of heredity which apply to animals also apply to man; and that therefore the breeder of animals is fitted to guide public opinion on questions relating to human heredity, without power to control, he has power to advise; and the public generally will accept his statements as sound, because based upon special knowledge and experience in the breeding of animals.

What an opportunity for the members of the American Genetic Association to benefit the human race! Most of the disputed questions of human heredity can be settled by them, and their verdict will be acquiesced in by the general public.

Statistics relating to the effect of inbreeding among animals, for example, could surely be made to guide public opinion rightly on the subject of consanguineous marriages among human beings.

The first thing, for us to do, is to make known to the public the processes that are needed to improve the race; and then to show how, by intelligent cooperation among the members of the community these processes may be applied.

Bell placed great importance, as animal breeders do, on thoroughbred stock, that is to say on breeding from lines that have demonstrated their prepotency by through generations. Summarizing his proposals, Bell consequently concludes that:

If the potency of the desirable class to produce desirable children is greater than the potency of the undesirable class to produce undesirable children, then the whole race begins to move upwards.

Conversely, if the potency of the undesirable element is greater than that of the desirable element, then the race begins to move downwards.

Thus, it is the difference between the potencies of the desirable and undesirable classes that controls and determines the amount and direction of the racial movement.

If, then, we wish to improve the race the aim should be *to increase the potency of the desirable class to produce desirable children* [Graham Bell's italics] and this can be accomplished by promoting the marriages of the desirable with one another.

The moment we have a body of desirable persons whose parents are also desirable, improvement of the race begins through the marriage of such persons with the normal population: for the

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proportion of desirable offspring born from the normal partners will be greater than in cases where the desirable partner had no ancestors belonging to the desirable class.

The improvement will be still greater when we have a body of desirable persons, who had grandparents as well as parents who were desirable; and still greater with each increase in the number of desirable ancestors.

Thus, the simple process of promoting the marriages of the desirable with the desirable will through the mixture of the descendants with the rest of the population, inaugurate an improvement of the whole race; and the movement will advance with accelerated velocity as we have more and more potent individuals of the desirable class. This process continued through a number of successive generations would ultimately result in the establishment of a prepotent stock within the desirable class, and then the improvement would be very marked indeed.

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BOOK REVIEW ARTICLE

The Current Attitude Toward Eugenics in France

John Glad
Washington, D.C.

Les gênes de l'espoir: à la découverte du génome humain
Daniel Cohen, R. Laffont, Paris, 301 pp.
Regard sur la biologie contemporaine
François Gros, Gallimard, 1993, 318 pp.
Histoire de l'eugénisme en France
Anne Carol, Éditions du Seuil, 1995, 389 pp.
Des grenouilles et des hommes:
Conversations avec Jean Rostand
Jacques Testart, Stock, Paris, 1995, 266 pp.
De l'eugénisme d'État à l'eugénisme privé
Jean-Noël Missa and Charles Susanne (eds), De Boeck University, Paris/Brussels, 1999, 183 pp.
Les fondements de l'eugénisme
Jean-Paul Thomas, Que sais-je, Presses Univ. de France, Paris, 1995, 127 pp.
L'eugénisme en questions:
L'exemple de l'eugénisme "français"
Alain Drouard, Elilipses, Paris, 1999, 143 pp.
L'eugénisme ou les généticiens saisis
par la philanthropie
André Pichot, Hatier, Paris, 1995, 80 pp.
La société pure: De Darwin à Hitler
André Pichot, Flammarion, Paris, 2000, 458 pp.
Faut-il vraiment cloner l'homme?
Jean François Collange, L-M Houdebine Claude Huriet, Dominique Lecourt, Jean-Paul Renard, Jacques Testart, Forum Diderot, Paris, 1999, 122 pp.
Hygiénisme et eugénisme au XX^e^ siècle
à travers la psychiatrie française
Simmonot, Anne-Laure, Sili Arslan, Paris, 1999, 190 pp.

The cartographers of the human genome may only have begun their work, but so breathtaking is their progress that the old arguments over nature/nurture, the accuracy of testing, heritability, etc. now seem dated. With every day we improve our understanding of how biological beings function, and as we apply that knowledge to plants and animals,

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it becomes more and more difficult to maintain the taboo of non-intervention with regard to one single species out of millions – ourselves.

In 1993, in the early days of mapping the human genome, the geneticist Daniel Cohen published a book intended for the layman on the project: *Les gênes de l'espoir: à la découverte du génome humain* (The Genes of Hope: Discovering the Human Genome). Cohen wrote that he could not agree with the fears surrounding genetic interventionism and felt that alterations in human germ-line cells could be compared to the work of a surgeon wielding a scalpel. Why, according to Cohen, should we suppose the worst? Why could not modern genetic technology open new perspectives of freedom?

That same year François Gros, Director of the Pasteur Institute, responding to a UNESCO request, published his *Regard sur la biologie contemporaine* (A View of Contemporary Biology). While Gros did not treat eugenics *per se* in his work, he presented a relevant theoretical framework. Gros argued against what the biologist Ernst Mayr termed "constitutive reductionism." By way of illustration, Descartes described an animal as a machine with a skeleton that fulfilled the functions of levers, the muscles as pulleys, and the lungs as bellows. According to this view, nothing in biology is illogical or contrary to the laws of physics and chemistry, and all states and events have an explainable cause, even if we may not be aware of it. The biologist is thus compared to a child taking apart a toy. When he is done, he can understand perfectly how it functions and then reassemble it. Gros expressed concerns over "molecular tinkering," arguing that a machine is a *perfect* machine which is understandable only as an integration of all its physical parts and its environmental stimuli and past history. Gros went on to pose the question, not only of where we came from, but where are we headed. With a sigh, he conceded that "we (Alas!) are entering into the era of *homo geneticus*." Thus, the conclusions drawn by Gros revealed appreciably greater reticence with regard to eugenics than did those of Cohen.

Although some nuances of ideological and political postures have shifted since those two books appeared, the basic issues have not. But has the general posture of Francophone thinkers altered in the meantime? This review article is intended more to trace out various authors' views on eugenics that to discuss the historical information these books provide. The presentation is not intended to be exhaustive, but represents simply the books on the topic which I have read. Nevertheless, I believe it does provide a reasonably good overview of

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the intellectual climate in the French-speaking countries with regard to this particular topic. The quantity of French books on eugenics is much more limited than in English (no less than thirty-eight in the year 2000 alone!), and the books discussed here represent a very considerable percentage of the total.

To the degree the French-speaking general public is informed of eugenics, and that is not much, the attitude tends to be hostile. By way of comparison, when the Soviet Union still existed, Sovietologists were forced to use books and journals that were not only censored by the government, but were actually written by the censors. Thus, experts on Russia had no recourse other than to drink from polluted wells. Much the same situation now prevails with regard to eugenics.

Another caveat: intellectuals are a peripatetic lot, and it is not possible to understand French intellectual thought in isolation from the global climate. Books are relatively inexpensive and the French read a lot, so that book stores are crowded places, much like supermarkets in the United States. I have never seen crowds in American bookstores even remotely comparable to those in Paris.

The book store departments displaying books on eugenics show that egalitarian thinkers dominate French thought every bit as much as they do in the English-speaking world. Furthermore, these are not just writers who share similar views; they are the same people. It would appear that not only have all of Stephen Jay Gould's books been translated into French, but they are displayed with enviable prominence. And the bibliographies provided at the end of French books almost inevitably refer the reader back to such writers as Daniel J. Kevles, Leon Kamin, and Richard Lewontin – all resolute enemies of eugenics.

*

That Ann Carol's 1995 *Histoire de l'eugénisme en France* (The History of Eugenics in France) is a reworking of her doctoral dissertation is something that any serious reader would sense quite quickly. Nevertheless, it appears to provide the most comprehensive treatment of eugenics in France as a historical movement. Both in manner and ideological stance it is similar to and probably modeled after Daniel Kevles' 1985 *In the Name of Eugenics*, which is cited over and over as the most complete history of the topic, but in reality is a concealed assault on the movement.

As might be expected, Carol runs through the usual precursors of

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the movement. La Société française d'eugénique was founded in 1913 with a list of some four hundred members, a much larger number of them being physicians than was the case in other countries at the time. As in England, where the Galton Laboratory had been dedicated to research while the Eugenics Education Society was aimed at proselytizing, the French Society was also bifurcated, albeit only in part. The movement proved to be relatively short-lived; the Second World Eugenics Congress held in New York in 1921 had only marginal French attendance, and by 1926 there were only fifty members of the French Society remaining. Eventually, it was absorbed by the l'École d'anthropologie, and its bulletins were published by *la Revue anthropologique* until the latter ceased to appear in 1941.

French eugenicists had much the same concerns as did eugenicists in other countries: dysgenic fertility patterns, Malthusian concerns, public health, immigration, racial mixing, hereditary personality traits, man's evolutionary history, criminology, sterilization, feeble-mindedness, eugenic utopias, moral obligations to future generations, hereditary inequality, genetic defects, the rights of the community as opposed to those of the individual, government interventionism, compatibility of eugenics with religion, scientific procreation. Unlike most Anglo-American eugenicists, they evidenced a strong penchant for Lamarckianism, which is basically a contradiction in terms. Anti-Semitism, Carol notes, was "trivial." In 1937, in the context of the heightened tension with Germany, a "Latin Eugenics Conference" was held which set itself off from "Anglo-Saxon and German eugenics," which was presented as "intransigent and extremist."

On the whole the French Society achieved very little, with one exception – the introduction in December 16, 1941, of a mandatory health screening prior to marriage. The screen, albeit somewhat perfunctory nowadays, is still mandatory.

Although Carol's study is supposedly devoted to eugenics in the nineteenth and twentieth century, the presentation does not go much beyond the Second World War, with a few pages toward the end discussing the probable rebirth of eugenics. Carol concludes her book with a phrase that could be interpreted as favoring "consensual eugenics," but her intentional ambiguity is too opaque to fathom.

*

Jaques Testart is a specialist in reproductive biology, and his book (*De grenouilles et des hommes* – Of Frogs and Men) is devoted to Jean Rostard (1894-1977), who wrote nearly fifty books on biology and sympathized with some limited aspects of eugenics during the period

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when the movement enjoyed popularity in France. As can be imagined from the sheer quantity of books and articles which he wrote, Rostard was chiefly a popularizer of science, rather than a pathbreaking scientist, but his name is widely known and admired in France. Describing Rostard's views on eugenics in a lengthy concluding chapter, Testart describes him as a great humanitarian, and the 1995 appearance of the book evidently was intended to present eugenics in a positive light, while at the same time condemning eugenics in Germany under Hitler. Testart is also one of the co-authors of a 1999 book on cloning, discussed below.

*

Missa's and Susanne's 1999 *De l'eugénisme dé État à l'eugénisme privé* (From Eugenics of the State to Private Eugenics) is a collection of articles authored by a group of Belgian and French scholars and scientists, some of whom are relatively hostile to eugenics while others are actually supportive. Even so, eugenics in various places is described as "utopian" and "unrealistic." Its goals are "unachievable," and it represents "a collection of false ideas" which are "contradictory" and "disproven by research." The very mention of the term can call up "unconditional condemnation for a shameful practice." Other phrases include "opprobrium... the horrors of classical eugenics... the danger of a eugenic drift... American charlatans... a real risk... a dangerous trend... the threat of eugenics... fear... risk... menace... peril... insidious... rampant... radical... immoral... the demon of eugenics... the temptation of eugenics... the worrisome Trojan horse of eugenics... the specter of eugenics... Nazi atrocities... gas chambers... racism... ethnic discrimination... the slippery slope of eugenics... detestable reputation... barbaric... fear... warning... fatal... vigilant resistance to this tendency... genetic discrimination... sterilizations and lobotomies... creeping determinism... genetic reductionism... racism which reduces culture to nature... the cult of the body... denounce... totalitarian... utilitarian drift... inhumane... a mad idea... materialist reductionism... biologicism... geneticism... existential or metaphysical horror... universal and absolute condemnation... a means which is absolutely evil... worse than murder... radical evil... absolutely bad, absolutely contrary to good... perversion... intrinsically evil... intrinsically and necessarily negative with regard to the autonomy of others... instrumentalization and objectivization of others... the genetic impovrishment of cloning...." While such phraseology is condemned by

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some of the authors participating in the collection, but it is nevertheless revealing that anyone active in the field must proceed from such a threatening environment. At least one of the contributors believes that current human evolution is currently discussed under conditions of even less freedom in France and Germany than in the Anglo-American world – "as if Darwin had never been born."

Missa and Susanne are more hostile to eugenics than some of their contributors, and even go so far as to claim that eugenics is not a branch of the natural sciences, but rather is part of the social sciences. Robert Graham's Repository for Germinal Choice, christened in the press as the "Nobel Sperm Bank," is said to "inspire nothing but irony." One of the authors participating in the collection even calls it "charlatanism, pure and simple." They note that "at the end of the twentieth century the fantasies linked to positive eugenics have not completed disappeared.... Positive eugenics remains in the domain of science fiction." On the other hand there are statements which are clearly supportive of eugenics, as can be seen, for example, from the following statement by the bioethicist Fritz Mann at the Free University of Brussels:

> Aside from religious grounds, there exists no ethical justification for not influencing the germ line. If one day a cure is discovered for curing a hereditary disease in this fashion, not only for its bearer, but for all his descendants, what reason could there be for forbidding it?

*

Les fondements de l'eugénisme (Foundations of Eugenics), by Jean-Paul Thomas, is part of the very useful *Que sais-je?* ("What Do I Know?") series of hundreds of tiny volumes, each intended to elucidate specific topics – everything from algorithms to unemployment to pregnancy to alcoholism. Thomas, who is a professor of philosophy at the University of Paris, is hostile to his topic, describing it as "completely dated," based on "ignorance," "completely discredited," and claiming that "its rehabilitation is void of sense." At the same time, he concedes that eugenics may well "rise from its own ashes" as part of the general "biologism" of which it is part and "pose a threat to our concept of democracy."

Thomas actually presents a fair amount of material, albeit necessarily selective, in a slender volume, breaking up his text into three parts: a) predecessors of eugenics, such as Herder's conception of

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a nation as an organic whole and his concept of decline, b) eugenics of the first four decades of the twentieth century (Galton's and Karl Pearson's statistical studies, the link between socialism and feminism on the one hand, and eugenics on the other), and c) the anticipated rebirth of the "demon" of eugenics under the influence of the current revolution of understanding in eugenics (*in vitro* and *post-mortem* fertilization, the use of "birth mothers," mapping the human genome, sociobiology).

*

Alain Drouard is the Director of the *Centre Roland Mousnier* in Paris. His *L'eugénisme en questions* (Eugenics in Questions) is a pro-eugenics document intended to clarify for the lay audience misconceptions about eugenics with regard to racism, Social Darwinism, and what used to be know as "hygienism" (public health). Drouard begins by quoting a phrase coined by the philosopher Leo Strauss, who fled Nazi Germany to teach at the University of Chicago: "*reductio ad Hitlerum*: "Hitler believed in eugenics, X believes in eugenics, therefore X is a Nazi." Drouard then goes on to point out that only ignorance of the history of eugenics in France has created a "retrospective teleological vision which transforms every eugenicist of the past into a precursor of the Nazi catastrophe." Drouard maintains (disapprovingly) that "eugenics is unanimously condemned in France and this condemnation is written into the laws on bioethics." He then goes on to quote Ernst Mayer's *Histoire de la biologie*, in which Mayer writes that "since 1933 it has been nearly impossibly to objectively discuss eugenics." In what is evidently a jab at Carol's history of French eugenics, Drouard writes that the history of eugenics is France is far from having been written. He also mentions several articles by the French philosopher and political scientist Pierre-André Taguieff, in which Taguieff, who has authored a number of books denouncing anti-Semitism, declares the "ideological phobia" surrounding eugenics to be sheer fantasy. Drouard points out that eugenics was supported not only by rightest thinkers, but even by such extreme leftist groups as the anarchists, the socialists, and even by the Masons. He lists the countries in which the eugenics movement was strong in the early twentieth century: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Greece, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Norway, New Zealand, The Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Rumania,

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Russia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Turkey.

Drouard discusses some aspects of the history of eugenics in France, including the advocacy of a "biocracy," a 1920 coinage of the leftist eugenicist and Mason Édouard Toulouse, indicating an alternative to democracy which would be implemented by a "scientific government of competent men." For those intent on presenting eugenics as a precursor of Nazism, it is worth noting that Toulous was a resolute opponent of Nazism, fascism, and communism. Revealingly, his slogan was "la liberté, la vérité... la science." He envisaged his biocracy as a rationalized society which would respect individual liberties.

Another eugenicist discussed by Drouard was the Nobel Prize laureate in medicine Alexis Carrel, who spent some forty years in Canada and the United States, where he was in contact with such American eugenicists as Charles Davenport, Harry Osborn, Edward Moore, Ward Crampton, and Irving Fisher, among others. His book *Man the Unknown*, which promoted his eugenic ideas, sold over a million copies. Like most of his French contemporaries, however, Carrel remained a Lamarckian, believing that acquired characteristics could be inherited. Carrel picked up Toulouse's idea of a biocracy, which he envisaged as basic on science and brotherly love: "The goal of life is not profit."

Whereas Toulouse was an agnostic, Carrel drew his morality from religion. Still, the Church was a greater source of resistance to eugenics as a violation of the Divine Order than was the case in the Protestant countries of Northern Europe – Denmark, Finland, Germany, Norway, and Sweden. The Church was also leery of any "rationalization" of sex which would lead to a loosening of morals.

In addition, there was great concern in France over the low birth rate, and any advocacy of sterilization tended to be unpopular. At the same time, however, Malthusian concerns ran at crosscurrents to another widely discussed topic, that of genetic decline.

Drouard devotes a small chapter to disassociating racism historically from eugenics, attempting to demonstrate that racial theories of racial superiority abounded among socialist thinkers and discussing eugenicists who historically favored racial mixing – even Gobineau, for example. He also quotes a number of eugenicists who came out against anti-Semitism.

Drouard sums up the essence of French eugenics as being neo-Lamarckian, stressing positive eugenics over negative, and as being pro-natalist, with chief emphasis on education rather than on the constraint of law. Moreover, eugenicists in France, unlike Germany, did

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not occupy positions of power in the State, so that their discussion remained largely on a theoretical plane.

*

The title of André Pichot's 1995 *L'eugénisme ou les généticiens saisis par la philanthropie* means "Eugenics or Geneticists Seized by Philanthropy." Pichot is a historian of science.

Pichot begins with the usual "fear of a resurgence of eugenics" and accuses biologists of engaging in "sophistry" when they claim they have nothing to do with this "perverted ideology." He then goes on to list various vectors of "degeneracy" which society feared at the turn of the century – contagious diseases, alcohol, and drugs. He throws in race mixing and consanguinous marriages among European royalty, but pointedly fails to mention the chief fear, both then and now – of a negative correlation between IQ and fertility. Pichot's general tone is sarcasm, and he presents the doomsaying of the eugenicists as developing on a background of blossoming prosperity and science which make "giant steps" – almost in the best of all possible worlds. Reading his book, one cannot but muse that it is unfortunate that future generations are not yet here to thank us for all we have done for them (or – depressing even to imagine – what we may yet do in the future).

Pichot does indeed have a sense of humor and really quite successfully picks his quotations, as for example that of a French anthropologist and sociologist who wrote in 1894 that he would replace *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité* with *Déterminisme, Inégalité, Sélection*. And Pichot is right to bring up early believers in eugenics such as Charles Richet, a Nobel Prize laureate in medicine, who fantasized about a world dictator and who in 1919 actually proposed "eliminating" the black and yellow races, and then eliminating undesirables among the white population, maintaining that such "elimination won't be effective unless it is severe." And despite his negative attitude toward eugenics, Pichot honestly concedes that such eugenicists such as Herman Muller (who was Jewish) were definitely not anti-Semitic.

Pichot does not limit himself to discussing the pre World War II period, but goes on to attack *Le Hasard et la Nécessité* (Chance and Necessity, 1970) of Jacques Monod, *La Logique du vivant* (the Logic of the Living, 1970) of François Jacob and Ernst Mayr's *Histoire de la biologie* (History of Biology, 1989). For example, Pichot is unhappy that Mayr dwells upon the suppression of eugenics and that Monod believes in genetic decline. These authors, according to Pichot, are closet

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ideologues who carry on the torch of Galton, Huxley, Muller, and other earlier believers in eugenics. Pichot then goes on to discuss genetic testing and selective abortion, and uses the phrase "genetically correct babies," implying that the desire to have healthy children is as suspect as political witch hunting. Furthermore, he maintains, such tests are excessively focused on "rare" and "hypothetical" diseases and thus really pursue the goal of creating what he evidently considers to be a sinister map of the human genome.

*

In 2000 Pichot brought out a larger book on the same topic: *La société pure: De Darwin à Hitler* (The Pure Society: From Darwin to Hitler), once again engaging in an ironic criticism assault on eugenics, while at the same time presenting himself as a moderate who understands current issues in biology. Darwinism transferred to politics, we learn from Pichot, produces the risk of totalitarianism, and politics founded on biology is a "Nazi domain." As for intelligence tests, they measure only specific skills, and not intelligence. Like Pichot's earlier work, the book attempts to pose questions relating to future issues in eugenics on the basis of what happened in the nineteenth and early twentieth century: "There is nothing new under the sun," Pichot writes. This is disheartening when one considers that early eugenics was embraced all over the political spectrum, from left to right, albeit not universally. One could just as easily speak of eugenics of the left as of the right. But Pichot, while discussing today's incredible revolution of knowledge in genetics, is not moved to see any change in fundamental attitudes. Furthermore. there is the usual confusion of eugenics and Hitler's September 1939 secret order initiating a national euthanasia program. This is a persistent red herring. This order was not motivated by eugenic considerations, since persons who were already institutionally segregated and in many cases sterilized could not possibly have had any procreation. Rather, the decision was made to free up as many as 800,000 hospital beds for expected war casualties. Pichot does concede that the UN statements denying racial equality are no more based on science than are the assertions of significant differences.

*

Faut-il vraiment cloner l'homme? (Should Man Really Be Cloned?) is the record of a conference held in October of 1998 and published in

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1999. Since the terms of reference here are changing so rapidly, the dates are significant. It also must be kept in mind that such conferences are staged affairs in which invitations are inevitably determined by the organizers. Thus, it is difficult to judge the degree to which the invited participants reflect the general attitude toward cloning of French scientists and scholars, and even in some cases to judge how frank the participants were in expressing their own views. At any rate, the participants are prominent representatives in their fields, and occupy important positions.

By way of background the book contains an April 26, 1997, statement by French President Jacques Chirac declaring that cloning should be **"forbidden... as an attempt to undermine the human condition"** (bold face is mine – JG). Evidently, this was an orchestrated case where Chirac simply signed a statement prepared for him by others, probably by The National Consultative Committee on Ethics For the Life Sciences and Health, which published its response to his words four days *before* he spoke them (April 22). Furthermore, Chirac's phraseology was suspiciously the same as in the statement of the Consultative Committee. The categorical nature of the statement signed by Chirac (whose wife Bernadette is actively involved in the campaign for conservative religious movement called "Integrism") leads the reader to suspect that its true authors were members of the Roman Catholic clergy. The Consultative Committee's statement concludes with the following paragraph:

> There is no conceivable variation of human reproductive cloning, whether one begins with an adult or an embryo, which might escape a complex of insurmountable objections. Such arguments can inspire only vehement, categorical and definitive ethical condemnation. Such practices radically threaten the autonomy and dignity of the individual, and constitute a grave moral lapse in the history of civilization. Would it thus not be appropriate, in light of its universal prohibition, to legally declare it to be [part of] **an attempt to undermine the human condition** [again, the bold face is mine – JG], of which reproductive cloning constitutes the clearest example.

For the most part, the forum's participants were negative with regard to cloning: Biologist Jean-Paul Renard: "The cry of Jürgen Habermas on 'the horror of the human clone' is also our cry." Protestant theologian Jean-François Collange: "Beings created in this fashion can never really be our children. Biologically and effectively they are certainly human, but they will nevertheless lack the decisive

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characteristic that they were begotten.... This is a modern form of slavery... a practice which is dangerous and deserving of condemnation." Medical researcher Jacques Testart: "Technoscience shows itself capable of producing tools for reversing civilization." Philosopher Dominique Lecourt: "One more reason for rereading Ovid's Narcissus."

But the general mood was less than unanimous. Gynecologist Claude Sureau starts out by speaking of "a vertigo of horror, of abomination" over eugenics, but then proceeds to express doubts: "I ask myself if we can be absolutely certain that under no circumstances... I'm not absolutely sure." Geneticist Louis-Marie Houdebine goes no further than advocating a "moratorium." As for biologist and philosopher Pascal Nouvel, any debate has its fence sitters, and he limits himself to laying out the facts of cloning.

*

Hygiénisme et eugénisme au XX^e siècle à travers la psychiatrie française (Public Health and Eugenics Through the Prism of French Psychiatry) was written by Anne-Laure Simmonot with a preface by Jean-Paul Liauzu; both are hospital psychiatrists. Liauzu starts out by conjuring up Nazism and refers to eugenics as the "banality of evil" (a quote from Hannah Arendt) and "sordid utilitarianism." Alexis Carrel, mentioned above, did not just return to France during the War, he returned to *Vichy* France. But Liauzu is right in his conclusion: "Eugenics will not have to be reborne, for it never ceased to be present."

The bulk of Simmonot's discussion is devoted to the historical aspects of eugenics and "hygiénisme," which were closely interconnected in a number of countries, including France. Simmonot points out that in the first half of the twentieth century sterilizations were "the order of the day" not only in Germany, but also in the United States, Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Switzerland. On June 30, 1975, the French Parliament passed a law defining "handicap," and a number of persons were institutionalized on this basis, their segregation being justified by their inability to care for their own persons. In April 1996 the French National Consultative Committee on Ethics recommended sterilization of the mentally handicapped, over the protests of some psychiatrists. Again, the formal grounds advanced were not eugenic, but were based on the inability of the persons involved to provide care for their children, but Simmonot maintains, no doubt quite

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correctly, that at least a part of the policy was based on eugenic considerations. Simmonot speaks of "genetic determinism" and of medical psychology being misused as a political instrument to manage "deviant" populations. Embryo screening is presented as "a new pathway to eugenics" in which autism, schizophrenia, obesity, hypertension, certain cancers, alcoholism, and cardio-vascular diseases are eventually all to be targeted:

> The idea of people's equal dignity and the idea of a legal order founded on the recognition of their rights are fundamental principles which can in no way be brought into agreement with eugenics. The coexistence of eugenics and democracy can not be anything other than conjunctural..."

*

In summation, the word "eugenics" still conjures the same hostility as in the United States, especially among persons who are poorly familiar with the history of the movement, and this hostility continues to be assiduously fanned by egalitarian writers. Only specialists seem to be aware that eugenics was not the exclusive bailiwick of the right, but was scattered all over the political spectrum. Almost no discussion is provided of the historical resistance of many eugenicists to racism and anti-Semitism. At the same time, eugenic practices are already common currency in France, and are often viewed with a favorable eye.

What has changed over the last eight years is that the opponents of eugenics have shifted from warning of the "risk of eugenics" to conceding that such a turn of events is not only an inevitability but is even now quietly underway. There is now total unanimity on this point among the movement's advocates and its foes, but since the proponents of eugenics have been driven underground, it is its enemies who are now the chief trumpeters of its renaissance.

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Crime as Destiny
A Study of Criminal Twins

Professor Dr. J. Lange

Departmental Director, Kaiser Wilhelm Institute

Translated by Charlotte Haldane

Foreword by J. B. S. Haldane

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This is a reprint of the original 1931 translation by Charlotte Haldane of the pioneer 1928 study conducted by J. Lange of the criminal records of a number of monozygotic and dizygotic twins. It is a classic work of outstanding interest to all students of criminology, heredity or twin studies.

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BOOK REVIEW

Looking Down on Human Intelligence:
From Psychometrics to the Brain
Ian J. Deary
Oxford University Press, 2000

Ian J. Deary's new book is about the biology of individual differences in intelligence. He views psychometrics – the measurement and statistical study of psychological traits, such as intelligence – as being between social variables (such as school attainment, income, accident rates, etc.) and the biology of the brain, with each field building on a base of knowledge from the lower levels. From psychometrics one can look upwards at applications of psychological tests, or one can look downwards onto the biological factors that affect intelligence. Looking down is what this book does.

The basic approach is historical, with most modern research described in the last chapters. I would suggest reading the first chapter and then jumping to the later chapters that describe the more modern research. Some of the early writings are mainly of historical interest. These merely serve to demonstrate that the same questions and hypothesizes have been of interest for centuries.

The introductory chapter deals with a number of topics that will be familiar to the specialist in intelligence. One is the existence of a general factor. When mental tests are given to the same subjects, the subjects' performances on the different tests are positively correlated. The person who does well on one test generally does well on other tests, and the poor performer on one test is likely to be a poor performer on other tests. This is not what would be expected if solving different types of problems were a learned skill with those better at solving a particular type of problem being better because they had had more practice. Since time spent practicing solving one type of problem is time not spent at practicing on other types of problems, one who was well practiced at one type of problem would tend to be less practiced at another type of problem. In this case, there would be an inverse correlation between performances on different type of problems. However, a positive correlation is observed. This simple observation suggests that individual differences in practice or in study time do not explain individual differences in performance.

A brief discussion is given of the many social variables intelligence

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helps predict such as school performance, income, social status etc. Particularly striking is the data from Hunter and Hunter (1984) on the validity of common hiring criteria. Best at predicting job performance were mental ability composites (.53). This was even better than job tryouts and far exceeded such measures as education (.10), academic achievement (.11), or interviews (.14). Naturally, some of the evidence for the importance of intelligence comes from The Bell Curve (Herrnstein & Murray 1994), which documents the large number of socially important variables that are influenced by intelligence. (A summary of the findings are available in Miller 1995)

The introductory chapter also summarizes the evidence on the heritability of intelligence. The traditional methods of behavioral genetics using twins and adoptees show that there is substantial genetic influence on intelligence, which appear to account for most of the variability between people in intelligence.

After the introductory discussion, genes are not discussed again until the next to last chapter, which deals with the latest developments in biological research. This chapter (written with coauthors Carl and MacLullich) discusses the quantitative trait loci project. This is an effort to identify specific genes that affect intelligence (or at least are markers for these genes). The basic methodology here is to look for genetic markers that are shared by individuals of high intelligence. To minimize the number of subjects studied the latest research has focused on very high intelligence (gifted with an IQ averaging 136) children, which are compared with normal children. So far evidence has been found that a variation in the insulin-like growth factor-2 receptor (IGF2R) gene is more common in the high IQ groups than in the normal IQ groups and that the effect is unlikely to be due merely to chance.

The correlation could be because the high IQ children are more likely to come from certain ethnic groups (such as Jews) than the normal IQ children, and that the gene variation is question has nothing to do with intelligence. In future research it might be desirable to draw subject from ethnically homogeneous populations to minimize this risk. It is also possible that the gene itself has no causal effect on intelligence but is serving as a marker for another gene that is located closer to the gene in question.

While such caveats are important, progress is genetics is very rapid, and tools are available for addressing these issues. It is very likely that more genes will be found that play a role in determining genes. In turn, knowledge of these genes may lead to the development of new methods for modifying intelligence via nutrition or other methods, and possibly

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for preventing its decline with age. Understanding why some children learn easier than others has potential for improving education.

So far however there has been little funding available for research using modern genetic methods. Genetics research has been oriented towards medical conditions. The funding available for research on "Why Johnny Can't Read" has been controlled by the educational establishment, which has generally been hostile to genetics research. Given the importance of intelligence in education and society, modern genetics should be applied to the problem and given a level of funding similar that given to the genetics of major diseases. The research tools are available and the scale (number of subjects looked at and number of genes examined) of the research currently being done could easily be expanded.

This best documented gene affecting intellectual ability is apolipoprotein E, which has now been shown to play a major role in Alzheimer's disease. Unfortunately, the exact mechanism for this effect is not yet understood. However, since the same gene has been shown to affect recovery from head injury, it is plausible that the genetic variation is related to the brains ability to repair itself. This discussion of this one gene shows the types of research that will likely be required once other genes affecting intelligence are identified.

In the same chapter is a discussion of the relationship between brain size and intelligence. Earlier researchers reported a positive correlation between intelligence and such surrogates for brain size as circumference and skull volume. With magnetic resonance imagining it has become possible to measure brain volume more precisely and the relationship has become better established. The discussion then moves into other methods of brain imaging such as functional magnetic resonance imaging and positron emission tomography and what these tell about the nature of intelligence.

While the reader of a book on the biology of intelligence will be convinced of the importance of the subject and that there is indeed a biological basis to individual differences, the results described in the book do make this clear. Separate chapters are devoted to reaction times and inspection times, summarizing the literature and discussing the question of what, if anything the results mean.

Although there appears to be little in common between the decision making needed to switch a light off when it comes on and the complex reasoning tested on most intelligence tests, it has been demonstrated that reaction time does indeed correlate with intelligence. In these experiments there are a number lights usually arranged in a semi-circle.

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The subject keeps his finger on a button. When one of the lights comes on he must move his finger to another button and turn it off. This is a very simple task that a child or animal can be trained to perform. The time needed to perceive a light coming on and remove the finger from the home button is referred to as the reaction time. Surprisingly, this reaction time correlates with intelligence as measured by performance on much more complex tasks. This is quite strong evidence that there is something fundamental in the brains of highly intelligent people that differ from that in the brains of less intelligent. Mere differences in education or childhood rearing practices would not be expected to produce reaction time differences.

In the classical inspection time experiments two lines of greatly different length are flashed briefly on a screen and the subject must identify the longer line. The lines differ sufficiently in length that virtually any subject gets it right if given adequate time (say a second or more). However, with very short exposures error rates increase. A particular subject's minimum time to identify the shorter line is measured. This is referred to as the inspection time. Again this is a very simple task that one would not expect to be correlated with intelligence. But it is. Again one is looking at something that seems closer to a fundamental descriptor of the brain's functioning.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter is the one on the aging brain. Unfortunately, those who study intelligence have tended to study children and young adults (i.e. college students) while a separate group of scientists studies aging. It is by now well established that mental abilities decline with age, but at different rates for different abilities. Tests which measure learning (such as size of vocabulary or level of general knowledge) show relatively slow declines with age. These are referred to as crystallized abilities. Other abilities that don't involve recalling facts but measure things such as reasoning ability show higher rate of decline. These are referred to as fluid abilities.

One of the most interesting finding is that tests that measure the speed of performing relatively simple tasks that are usually done in less than a second appear to explain much of the decline in abilities with age. This makes it very tempting to explain age related decrements in mental ability as being due to a decline in some aspect of mental speed. However, almost as high a degree of explanatory power is obtained by a general factor, so it may be that researchers are merely renaming the general factor.

An interesting finding from the Berlin Aging study is that hearing (thresholds at various frequencies) and visual tests (near and far vision)

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such as the decline in visual acuity or pitch discrimination explain even better the decline in mental functions, with the vision and hearing functions interspersed between age and a general factor. A later study with a larger sample found that sensormotor functions (balance-gait, hearing, and vision) entirely mediated the association between age and intelligence. Presumably, there is some common cause that is affecting both the sensory and the mental functions. The decline in sensorimotor functions with age could be due to effects occurring within the nervous system when the signals are processed. The same age related damage to the nervous system could affect intelligence. However, at this stage no one knows what form this age related damage takes.

Presumably research in this area should be looking at other measures of the rate of aging (such as forced expiratory volume) and seeing if these correlate with the rate of cognitive decline. It could be that people age at different rates and that differences in the aging rate explain these correlations. This would be an important finding about aging, but one not particularly informative about intelligence. (For more on aging see Clark 1999 or my review of it Miller, 2001).

The major points of Deary's book is that we must avoid merely rediscovering the concept of g and showing that numerous mental tests (including reaction time and inspection times) have variance in common. All too often constructs such as "mental speed" or "efficiency of processing" are merely giving a new name to the variance that many tests have in common. The question posed by this book is where to go from here. It seems clear that somehow these tests have to be linked to fundamental properties of the brain, including chemical and physical properties.

I would like to make a proposal. In many fields of medicine progress has been made by using animal models. Rat performance in mazes is a well-known research tool for the study of memory. However, there are few animal tests that involve intelligence as it is generally understood. Now that certain simple tests of elementary cognitive activities have been shown to correlate with human intelligence, animal models can be used.

Tests such as inspection time and reaction time are simple enough so that experimental animals can be trained to perform them. Professor Arthur Jensen has told me that the late James S. Robinson trained cats to perform reaction time tests. Monkeys would be another possible experimental animal and possibly even rats or mice.

The experimental animals could be sacrificed and their brains examined for differences in various attributes. By comparing the good

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performers with the poor performers it should be possible to learn what contributes to these individual differences. It is very likely that what contributes to good performance in an experimental animal will also contribute to good performance in humans. In a paper that won a cash prize from Mensa, I proposed differences in myelination as one variable, but there are many other variables that could be investigated (see Miller 1994).

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